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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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A STUDY OF PRISON MANAGEMENT.

Our failure in the handling of criminals with reference to their reformation, and the proportionate security of society and decrease of taxation, is due largely to the fact that we have considered the problem as physical, and not psychological. The effort has been to improve prisons and the physical condition and environment of prisoners. This effort has been directed by sentiment, rather than upon principles of economy and a study of human nature. It has been assumed that if convicts were treated with more kindness, if they were lodged in prisons well warmed and well ventilated, light and airy, in cells more roomy and comfortable, if they had better food and more privileges (graduated on good deportment), they would be more likely to reform and to lead honest lives after their discharge.

This movement was dictated by philanthropic motives, and I am far from saying that it is all wrong. But it has not produced the results that were expected; and it seems to me that the revolt in the public mind against what is called the "coddling" system is justified by facts and results. The modern model prison is a costly and architecturally imposing structure;

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it is safer to lodge in and freer from odors than most hotels; its cells are well warmed, lighted with gas, and comfortable; it has a better dietary than most of its inmates are accustomed to; it has bath-rooms, a library, often large and well selected; an admirably arranged hospital; a cheerful chapel, garnished with frescoes and improving texts; there are Sunday services and Sunday-schools; there is a chaplain who visits the prisoners to distribute books and tracts, and converse on religious topics; there are lectures and readings and occasional musical concerts by the best talent; sometimes holidays are given; there are extra dinners on Thanksgiving day, Christmas day, and the Fourth of July, when the delicacies of the season stimulate the holiday and patriotic sentiments; and in most State-prisons a man may earn a considerable abatement of his sentence by good behavior.

The sanitary condition of most of these model prisons is good; they are very good refuges in which to recuperate the system impaired by excesses and crime. The discipline is excellent. It is, in fact, improved by the good treatment and privileges granted. In some prisons this is carried to a perfection that is boasted of, and that wins the admiration of visitors; the prisoners move like a machine, they never speak, they never look up. This appears to be admirable. In some prisons, however, there are relaxations from the severe rules. If the men dine at a common mess, they are permitted to talk while at table; the privilege being withdrawn if they abuse it and become noisy and quarrelsome. The uniform close-crop of the hair is not always insisted on, and the better prisons are discarding the striped or motley prison dress, as tending simply to degrade the men and serving no good purpose whatever.

There is no doubt that the convicts like the new prisons better than the old. They have their preferences in them as other people have in hotels. Some prisons have a bad reputation with the criminal fraternity, and I fancy they rather shun the States where these exist. I remember reading some time ago a newspaper communication from an old convict, a man who had experience in many prisons in different parts of the Union, who compared the diet in each, and spoke very feelingly and bitterly of that in one of them (at Wethersfield, Conn.) for its lack of variety. He wrote with a natural indignation, and I have no doubt had the sympathy of a good many philanthro-

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pists and sentimentalists. And it did seem an outrage (from one point of view of the management of prisons) that he should not have green corn twice a week in the season, and fresh tomatoes, which are given in a prison he named. A professional criminal, whose sole occupation is crime, has a right to demand of modern civilization that it should keep pace with itself in the matter of prisons, and provide him agreeable quarters during the periods of his temporary seclusion from general society. Nor is the question of economy wholly overlooked. Many of our prisons pay their way; that is, the prisoners earn enough at hard labor (which is no harder as to hours or amount than free labor), under the contract or other system, to pay the running expenses of the establishment — allowing nothing for interest on the cost, or for repairs and improvements. This is reasonable. The criminal has already cost the State enough; he ought to support himself while in confinement. The tax-payers certainly have a right to demand this. And under this sort of prison system that we are now considering, the first requisite should be that it be self-supporting.

The reform in prison construction and management was very much needed, and I am not anxious now to express an opinion whether or not it has gone too far. But it must be noted that along with this movement has grown up a sickly sentimentality about criminals which has gone altogether too far, and which, under the guise of "humanity" and philanthropy, confounds all moral distinctions. The mawkish sympathy of good and soft-headed women with the most degraded and persistent criminals of the male sex is one of the signs of an unhealthy public sentiment. A self-respecting murderer is obliged to write upon his cards "no flowers." I think it will not be denied that our civilization, which has considerably raised the average of human life, tends to foster and increase the number of weaklings, incompetents, and criminally inclined. Unsystematic charity increases pauperism, and unphilosophical leniency towards the criminal class increases that class.

It seems to me that we have either gone too far, or we have not gone far enough. If our treatment of the incompetent and vicious is to keep pace with our general civilization, we must resort to more radical measures. The plan of systematized charity, which cultivates independence instead of dependence, and the increased attention given to the very young children

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who by their situation and inheritance are criminally inclined, are steps in the right direction. Probably it will be more and more evident that it is the best economy for the State to spend money liberally on those who are liable to become dependents and criminals. If the State were to show as much energy in this direction as it does in police supervision and the capture and conviction of criminals, it is certain that a marked improvement would be felt in society within a generation. But we are now considering the treatment of criminals, and I can best illustrate what I wish to bring into relief by an example.

My proposition is, that there is very little difference between our worst State-prisons and our best in the effect produced upon convicts as to reformation or a reduction of the criminal class. The State-prison at Wethersfield, Conn., is one of the old type. It is an old and ram-shackle establishment, patched up from time to time, and altogether a gloomy and depressing place. It is, however, well managed; it is made to pay about its running expenses; and many of the modern alleviations of prison life are applied there—a library, occasional entertainments, a diminution of time of sentence for good conduct, and so on, whatever such a place is capable of in the way of comfort consistent with the system. But the inmates are the most discouraging feature of the exhibition. They are in appearance depressed, degraded, down-looking, physically sluggish, mentally and morally tending to more and more degradation. There is no hope or suggestion of improvement in them. The discipline is good, and the men earn time by good conduct, but there are no evidences that the alleviations (which take from the former terrors of prison life) are working the least moral change. It is a most depressing and dispiriting sight.

Would any change for the better be wrought if the environment were more cheerful? The State-prison at Cranston, R. I., is a new, handsome, granite building, with the modern improvements. Perfectly lighted and ventilated, with roomy cells, a common mess-room, an admirable hospital, a more than usually varied dietary, with a library, and all the privileges that humanity can suggest as consistent with discipline and security, it is as little gloomy and depressing as a State-prison well can be. Having occasion recently to look into this matter officially, I confess that I expected to find at Cranston a very different state of affairs as to the convicts from that existing at Wethersfield.

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The improved physical conditions ought to show some moral and physical uplift in the men. I was totally disappointed. Here were the same hang-dog, depressed, hopeless, heavy lot of convicts. The two prisons might change inmates, and no visitor would know the difference. You might expect just as little reformation in one as in the other. We are not considering now any question of sentiment or humanity; and the conclusion was forced upon me that, so far as the real interests of society are concerned, nothing is gained by converting prisons into comfortable hotels.

Since we have abolished punishments, and are not ready to take any radical steps for reformation, it would be better to make prison life so hard that detention would be a punishment in itself. The men should earn their living at hard labor, and be made to feel the weight of their transgressions. If professional and confirmed criminals, men who declare by undergoing second conviction for a felony that they have made preying upon society their business, who belong, in short, to a pretty well defined criminal class, cannot be removed altogether from troubling this world, they ought to be locked up permanently and made to earn their living. They are of no sort of use in the world, and are an expense and a danger to society. The rose-water treatment has no effect on this class, as a rule. Holidays, occasional fine dinners, concerts, lectures, flowers—we are going ridiculously far in this direction, unless we add a radical something to this sort of treatment that will touch the life of the man, and tend to change his nature and inclination. Our great prisons now are little better than seminaries and nurseries of crime. We are contributing to the breeding of a criminal class, which propagates itself under favoring conditions, aided by a misdirected philanthropy. Unless we adopt a plan radically different from the present one, it would be better to abandon all this coddling of the determined criminal class, leave it to its fate, and direct the energies of the State to cutting off the supply, by looking after the children who from infancy are on the predetermined road to join it.

Can anything better be done with men convicted of State-prison offenses? It is with the hope of throwing some light on this question that I wish to give a brief and informal account of what is going on in the Reformatory at Elmira, New York, under the superintendency of Mr. Z. R. Brockway. Here is an

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experiment in the personal treatment of convicts, unique, so far as I know, in the world; and I suppose it is an open question whether anybody except Mr. Brockway could carry it on. It is well to say, by way of preliminary, that the theory of indeterminate sentences, held by Mr. Brockway and other prison reformers, has been by many regarded as impracticable of operation, for want of a tribunal to say when a man is sufficiently reformed for his sentence to terminate. For the rôle of hypocrisy is one of the easiest for a rogue to play.

The Elmira Reformatory, which cost more than it should (being built in New York), is a somewhat pretentious building, situated on a commanding eminence. It need not be particularly described, further than to say that in point of arrangement, light, air, roominess, ventilation, etc., it conforms to modern notions. It is as little gloomy and depressing as a place of penal confinement can be. What distinguishes it, however, is that it is provided with school-rooms sufficient for the accommodation of all its inmates. And it is, as we shall see, a great educational establishment, the entrance to which is through the door of crime. The key-note of it is compulsory education. The qualifications for admission to it are that the man convicted of a State-prison offense shall be between the ages of sixteen and thirty, and that he has not been in State-prison before. In his discretion any judge in the State may send a convict of this description to Elmira. He is sentenced to the Reformatory subject to the rules of that institution, not for a definite term; but he cannot be detained there longer than the maximum for which he might have been sentenced under the law. For instance, if for burglary he might have been sentenced to State-prison for ten years, he may be held at Elmira for ten years; but he may, in the discretion of the board of managers, who are appointed by the Governor, be discharged in one year. The institution is practically managed by the superintendent. The discharges are made only by the board, who consider the man's record in the prison, and the probabilities, from all the evidence concerning him, that he will behave if set at liberty. He must have a perfect record before the board consider his case; and, besides this, the board must have confidence in his will and ability to live up to it.

Let us follow a man in this institutional life. Upon his reception he is subjected to a bath, clad in the plain suit that is

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worn by the intermediate grade, and locked up in a cell for a day or two, to give him time for reflection. He is then taken before the superintendent, who makes a thorough examination of him, a complete diagnosis of his physical, mental, and moral condition. His antecedents are ascertained, the habits and occupation of his parents (and grandparents, if possible), whether they were temperate or intemperate, lived cleanly and honestly, or otherwise; what the man's home life was, if he had any, and at how early years he was turned loose upon the world; what have been his habits and associations up to the commission of the crime for which he was sentenced. An examination is then made of his physical condition, his inheritances, and not simply the actual state of his health, but his physical texture, whether fine or coarse-grained. His intellectual capacity is next ascertained, and then his acquirements. Is he bright or dull, can he read and write, and how far has his education gone? Inquiry is then made into his moral condition; has he any sensibility, any shame, any susceptibility to praise or blame? What sort of moral fiber has he? After a keen investigation of an hour or so, Mr. Brockway thoroughly knows his man; long practice and a very deep knowledge of human nature enable him to diagnose the case pretty accurately. The subject finds himself in the presence of a man who probably wins his confidence, and whom, he very soon discovers, it is of no use to try to deceive. The result of this searching examination is entered at length on the page of a big ledger; the superintendent commonly outlines at the bottom the proposed treatment; and the new-comer is instructed in the rules of the institution and what is expected of him, and what he must do in order to "get out."

He goes at first into the second, or intermediate, grade, and it depends upon himself whether he goes up to the first or down to the third. He is made to understand the minute rules of behavior that he must attend to; he is assigned to the class in school fitted to his capacity and acquirements, and he is put into the work-shop that is best adapted to his health and training. He is informed of the maximum time for which he can be detained, and that he can, by perfect conduct in these lines of effort, win his release in one year. To effect this he must gain a certain number of credit marks; and these credit marks are constantly liable to be canceled by negligence or ill-behavior. He is tested at every step by the mark system. In the shop he is marked

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according to his diligence, his sharp attention to his work, his voluntariness at his labor. If he is listless, slights his work, and does not give his mind and energy to it, he not only misses credit marks, but will get discredit marks. There is no escape for him; he must work with a will. In behavior he must be perfect in obedience of the many and minute rules laid down, of which he is furnished a printed copy. In school he is required to study according to his capacity, and the marking is much the same as in a well-regulated high-school. But while he must be perfect in work and behavior, he will pass in school if he gains 75 in the scale of 100. As soon as he enters upon this course of discipline and study, an account is opened with him in another big ledger.

The process of his release is this: If he is reported perfect in three things,— labor, school, and conduct,— for each of which three marks are required each month, making nine in all, for six months, he is advanced to the first grade. If he remains perfect in the first grade for six months more, gaining nine good marks each month, he may then, at the discretion of the managers, be sent out on his parole. But he is not released on parole until a place is found for him, in which he can get employment and earn his living. If his friends cannot find a place for him, or he will not be received back into his former employment, if he had any, the institution places him by means of correspondence. On parole he must report his conduct and condition every month to the superintendent, and this report must be indorsed by some one of known character. If the paroled continues to behave himself for six months, he receives his final discharge; if he backslides, he is rearrested, brought back, and must begin over again.

The grades are three, and they mark considerable difference in privileges. The first-grade men wear a light blue uniform with a military cap. They occupy better cells than the others. They dine together in the large mess-room, at small tables, accommodating eight to twelve, and are permitted to talk freely, and to spend the noon-hour in social intercourse. Up till recently a summary of the news of the day, culled from the newspapers, was read to them once a week at table, but there is a substitute for that now. They have somewhat better food than the other grades. When they march from cells to work-shops, to dining-room, etc., they march in columns of four, and they are officered

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by captains and sergeants, chosen by the superintendent from their own number. Monitors in the corridors, clerks, and officers for the next grade are chosen from them. Besides their privileges, a measure of confidence is reposed in them, but they are also under strict discipline, and are liable to be degraded for neglect of duty or failure to report delinquencies in their capacity as monitors and sub-officers. The second, or intermediate, grade wear citizens' dress, with Scotch caps. They march in columns of two, officered by members of the first grade. They take their meals in their cells, and have generally less privileges than the first grade. The third, or convict, grade wear suits of red clothes, eat in their cells, march in the degraded prison lock-step, are officered by officers of the institution, and in various ways are made to feel the dishonor of their position and greater rigors of prison life. It should be noted that the three grades mingle in the work-shops and in the schools, for they take places in them on other standards than that of conduct.

It will be seen from this slight sketch that it is not an easy matter to get out of the Elmira Reformatory before the expiration of the maximum sentence. Three things are required, — perfect conduct, perfect diligence, and willingness in labor,— with as good progress in school as the capacity of the man admits. A man may do well in two, but be sent into the third grade for delinquency in the third. He may work well and study well, but if he does not behave, down he goes. He may work well and behave, but if he will not study, he is sent down. Here is a three-ply strand that must be woven daily, and the task is not easy. There can be no shamming, no successful hypocrisy; the tests are too searching. Almost every newcomer tries some game; he affects religion, or this and that hypocrisy, but he is dealing with a new set of circumstances, and with men a good deal sharper than he is; and after trying his wits in vain, he generally gives it up, and "comes down to business." Most of them run the gamut up and down the grades before they strike a pace of performance that will carry them to the parole. An examination of the conduct-ledger shows a curious inequality of behavior; the lines of performance are like the isothermal lines across our continent. When a man drops into the third grade from the first or second, it is not easy to regain his standing. But from the beginning every man, by going into the intermediate grade, is given a fair chance to rise or fall.

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The most striking thing about the institution is the cultivation of individual responsibility; a man's progress depends upon himself.

The education is strictly compulsory. Such a motive was never before given men to study, for release depends upon diligence and understanding of the matter in hand. There are seven classes: the two higher classes, A and B, and a supplementary class, first and second intermediate classes, and first and second primary classes. The teaching is largely oral and by lectures, and in the higher classes printed outlines of the lectures, with questions, are distributed to the pupils. The students take notes. The examinations are monthly, and in the higher classes by written examination papers, in which a knowledge of the subject must be shown, by illustrations or otherwise, and a mere parroting or memorizing of words and phrases will not pass.

Eight hours a day labor is required; this is the State limit. There is time for study after labor hours and in the evening. In each cell is a gas-light, and books are furnished when needed. The schools are in the evening. They are taught, for the most part, by able men outside the institution, who have some compensation; but some classes are conducted by inmates. The education runs from the rudiments — reading, writing, and arithmetic — up through grammar, higher mathematics, and geography, to history, specially American and English history, politics, English literature, such knowledge of law and the government of society as is necessary to make one an intelligent citizen, and political economy. None of these things are superficially taught; they are drilled in and in. The course in English literature, for example, is as thorough as in any school, and men are studying their Shakespeare and Chaucer and other masters with keen diligence and relish. But the end of education kept in view, in history, elementary law and morals, political economy, etc., is the fitting of the student to play his part well as a citizen, and to be an orderly member of society. It is also intended to broaden his view of life and his interest in it as an orderly process, and to discipline his perverted faculties. The first attempt is to awaken the convict's mind, to arouse an interest in himself and his welfare. This is often very difficult. These are not normal minds or dispositions. By inheritance or bad practices their natures are warped. Most of them have neither the knowledge nor the will to do right. It is a mistake to suppose that crimi-

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nals are naturally bright. The moral failure has affected the intellect in most cases. If they are bright, it is usually in a narrow line, the development of a ferret-like cunning and smartness. They lack intellectual breadth as they do moral stability. They are uncertain in all their operations; cannot long hold steadily one course; are continually falling and going to pieces. They are, in short, in an abnormal condition, and any real growth or reformation must be radical, built up from the foundations. The skill of the superintendent is shown in awakening the interest, in arousing hope and ambition, and creating a moral steadiness of will.

The great incentive, of course, at first is the man's desire to regain his liberty. But there are reserve forces. If a man is incorrigible and a hopeless case, the superintendent may transfer him to a State-prison. He may degrade him in rank, cut off his privileges, put him in solitary confinement, or punish him physically by a little judicious "strapping" or "spanking." Punishment is never inflicted except by the superintendent himself, never in any passion, and it almost always gives the man the little start he needed in good conduct. It is so managed that the man owns this himself, is not brutalized or humiliated by it, and rarely (never, so far as I have heard) cherishes any resentment on account of it. It seems to be the little reserve of physical force behind the moral that is needed in all good government. I should say that it is a good deal more effectual than the traditional flogging by which English school-boys had the Latin and Greek grammars driven into them.

This great industrial and educational establishment contains now a little over six hundred prisoners. On Sunday they all assemble in the chapel in the afternoon and evening for religious exercises; singing — a very good choir of a hundred voices, and some good soloists; generally a sermon in the afternoon, and either a sermon or lecture in the evening by volunteer clergymen, the best that can be induced to come. Sometimes there is a lecture or extemporary talk or reading, in place of the sermon. For special occasions the choir practices some set piece; for Christmas one of the prisoners had composed a very pretty carol, which they were practicing. Sunday morning the casuistry or practical morality class meets in the chapel. This numbers about two hundred, and is selected from all grades according to intellectual brightness and attainments. It is for the discussion

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of questions relating to morals and the conduct of life. The men all take notes, for they must pass a written examination on what they hear. The conductor reads or lectures, and free but orderly discussion takes place. The first Sunday the writer was present, they were concluding the reading of Socrates. Each man had a printed syllabus of the morning's reading, with questions appended. The next Sunday would be a review preparatory to examination. Each man took notes as the reading went on. Questions were asked and opinions given, the interlocutor raising his hand and rising when recognized by the lecturer. Such absorbed attention I have seldom seen in a class-room. They are obliged to be alert. These men are not merely going through a process of training to please their relatives or to gratify their own tastes; they are putting all their energies into the business in hand to win marks to get out of prison. And this is true in all the classes. Never was compulsory education so completely applied. But it must be confessed, in this case, that the class had got thoroughly interested in the subject. The expression of their faces was that of aroused intelligence. Nothing seemed lost on the majority of them; the finest points made by Socrates, his searching moral distinctions, his humor, you could see were taken instantly, by the expression of their faces. The discussions and the essays in this class show a most remarkable grasp, subtlety, penetration, and power of drawing fine moral distinctions; and the vigor and fitness of the language in which they are couched are not the least notable part of the display. The previous Sunday there had been a lively discussion of the question, "Is Honesty the best Policy?" The study of the morality of Socrates led the class naturally, and by their request, to a study of the morality of Jesus and the New Testament, though not at all as a religious inquiry; and thus a result was reached in moral investigation that a clergyman, beginning at the other end, probably never could have brought this mixed and abnormal class to attempt willingly. For these men are not only criminals, warped and prejudiced against any religious teaching, but they are of all sects by inheritance, perhaps half the number Catholics, and fifty of them Hebrews. Among men that have abandoned all practice of religion it would be perfectly easy to stir up a bitter theological feeling. The lecture on the second Sunday I was present was introductory on the development of religions, preparatory to such a study of the New Testament morality as

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had been given to that of Socrates. Before I quit this Sunday audience, I ought to say that, when the six hundred are assembled, it is one of the most alert and quickly responsive I have ever seen.

The education of the institution is intended to be industrial as well as scholastic. A few of those best fitted for it are taught telegraphy, and others stenography. Lessons in drawing and design are given; and I saw some very creditable designs for tiles and mantel-pieces, done by the pupils. Teaching specific industries is to be carried out more generally in future, the object being to fit the discharged to earn a living honestly, as carpenters, workers in metals, etc. The class in carpentry was very successful.

This Reformatory is a busy place; it has the aspect, as I said, of a great industrial and educational establishment. What first impresses one accustomed to visit prisons is the aroused physical life. The old convict heaviness and hopeless inertness of flesh are gone — gone with the depressing hang-dog look. The men work, move about, run up and down stairs, with alertness and vigor, and apparent enjoyment of motion. We see here the well-known criminal type of head, but the expression of face is altogether changed; stupidity and hopelessness have given place to intelligence and ambition. The change is astonishing. New life has been awakened all through the mass; and the mental and physical activity, first aroused by the desire to get out, has now in a large number of the prisoners passed into a desire to know something and to be somebody.

I was at first surprised to learn that men do not like to be sent to this institution; many of them, perhaps most of them, would prefer to go to a regular State-prison. Their whole nature revolts against the idea of discipline, of study, of reform. They like crime and an irregular life, and they hate any influences to turn them away from it. They hate the notion of behaving, as some boys out of prison hate moral restraint and religious instruction. They resent the pressure as long as they can; and some of them, of course, never do surrender, and go out unregenerate. It is admitted that a certain percentage of criminals here are incorrigible. It is believed, however, that this percentage could be greatly reduced by universal indeterminate sentences, giving a longer time to work on obdurate natures.

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The Reformatory has been in operation eight years. The *morale* in it has been gradually changing for the better. At first the heroes (as in other prisons) were the biggest, sharpest, most successful rogues. The standard has changed. These men are no longer looked up to. There is a considerable *esprit de corps* of good conduct and progress, and goodness and intellect are respected. There is a strong moral influence among the inmates themselves in favor of good order and good conduct. I believe that the superintendent is almost universally regarded with affection. When I went the rounds with him, all the faces lighted up at his approach; he knew every one; he spoke to this and that one some word of encouragement, or appreciation, or warning, all in the utmost good nature and kindness; and they preferred any request they had to make frankly, but most respectfully. They are encouraged in this frankness of communication. Every day, after work hours, the superintendent receives privately any one that wants to see him, to complain of treatment, to ask advice, to state his difficulties with his study or his work, or to get sympathy; and he summons the delinquents that need warning or correction. This openness of communication, with the tact that makes use of it, is one secret of Mr. Brockway's power and success. He plays upon these six hundred natures individually, as a pianist manipulates his keys. They have absolute confidence in his justice. He never remembers an offense if it is repented of and abandoned. There are no yesterdays in the institution; only to-days and to-morrows. In every case the man is judged and classed, not by what he has done, but by what he does and will do. There is no element of revenge in the treatment.

I cannot here give all the details of this treatment; but, as an illustration of the minuteness of it, I may say that there are three sorts of adverse reports: a neglect report, on pink paper; a dereliction report, on yellow paper; and an offense report, on brown paper. These are offsets to the conduct report, in which the credits are earned. The neglect report notices the least things, in orderly conduct,— arms not folded, bed not properly made, coat not buttoned, necktie not properly tied, shoes not polished, not being at door of cell for count, and so on, for some thirty particulars,—like the discipline at West Point. The man may have in a month five "neglects" and be excused; six cancel a credit mark. Of the dereliction reports, only two are

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allowed per month; three cancel a credit. On the brown blanks offenses of a more serious nature are reported; one report may cancel a credit, or degrade in rank, or call for other punishment. Each day the men receive copies of the reports filed against them. The pink notices are signals of "danger." Thus, daily, the men know which way they are going.

A noticeable thing in the treatment here, which distinguishes it from most institutional life that I have seen, is the cultivation of the habit of self-reliance. The responsibility is upon each man to "work out his own salvation," as we say. The vice of ordinary institutional life is the destruction of self-help and self-care. And even here the man's wants are provided for, whatever he does. He is under no anxiety about food and clothes, as free men are. It is proposed to perfect the system here by making a man dependent for what he gets upon what he earns. That is, he will receive such food in the institution as he can pay for by his earnings. I merely state the principle, without going into details. The object is to teach the man how to spend his money as well as how to earn it, so that he shall learn thrift and how to care for himself.

I was much struck with the excellent, it is not too much to say courteous, behavior of the men of the first grade, seated in small groups at dinner. The tables had white table-cloths. One of the number carved; they helped one another politely; they talked quietly and freely. Good manners and courtesy prevailed. It was roast-beef day; and I remarked that the fare was good. "Yes," said Mr. Brockway, "I am inclined to improve in the dietary — plenty that is good, and variety. I find that I get better results in study, work, and behavior, if I feed better." We certainly expect better results in stock-raising and training if we feed well. I give the diet one day in the first grade. Breakfast: corned-beef hash, white bread, coffee and sugar. Dinner: soup, roast beef and gravy, string beans, white bread, coffee and sugar. Supper: dried apples, white bread and butter, syrup, tea and sugar.

I noticed many interesting things in the Reformatory, but I have space only to set down one or two curious psychological observations. There seems to prevail a kind of intellectual honesty, especially in the practical morality class. This is due partly to the fact that these men have no past to bind them — have no fear of expressing their opinions, as men and women in soci-

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ety are apt to have, and partly to the fact that they are encouraged to a frank expression. They are in no danger of losing caste by any opinion, and they seem to enjoy saying absolutely what they think on all moral questions that arise. I am quite sure that for various reasons, some creditable and some otherwise, the tendency here is to intellectual honesty. I asked the superintendent what relation this had to moral honesty; whether men cultivating this attitude as to abstract questions would be less likely to lie; and he promised to institute some inquiries and tests on this point.

Another question was this: What is the relation of intellectual ability as shown by the position in the school classes, to standing as shown by the grades? In other words, what is the relation of mental activity and progress to conduct? This is one of the most important inquiries in regard to a reformatory, for the charge is constantly made that education only sharpens criminals, and does not help conduct. The reply is in the following table, which is to me most interesting and encouraging:

ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL POPULATION, BY GRADES.

CLASS.	NUMBER OF MEN IN CLASS.			PERCENTAGE.		
	1st Grade.	*2d Grade.*	*3d Grade.*	*1st Grade.*	*2d Grade.*	*3d Grade.*
A.	51	31	4	59.3	36	4.7
B.	37	36	11	44	42.9	13.1
Supplementary Class	30	18	6	55.6	33.3	11.1
I^1	40	36	14	44.4	40	15.6
I^2	30	58	22	27.3	52.7	20
P^1	12	58	17	13.8	66.7	19.5
P^2	5	33	15	9.4	62.3	28.3
Excused	14	5	1	70	25	5

I was led to make this inquiry because I saw in the morality class men of all grades. In this table it will be noticed that in the highest class, A, the percentage of the first-grade men is 59.3, of the second grade, 36, of the third grade, only 4.7. As we pass down in the school classes, the proportions keep changing, until we reach the lowest primary, in which there is only a per-

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centage of 9.4 in the first grade, but 62.3 in the second grade, and 28.3 in the third grade. The first grade numbers now about two hundred, and of course contains all the men on the high road to be paroled. The middle grade is most numerous, for all are placed there on entering, and men are constantly passing through it, up or down. The third grade is the smallest.

The large clerical labor is done by the inmates. They set the type and run the hand-press that is kept busy printing the daily reports, the syllabuses for school, etc. The institution publishes also a weekly newspaper, distributed Sunday morning, called "The Summary." It is a small neat sheet of two leaves. A prisoner makes for it a complete condensed summary of the news of the week, excluding all scandal and reports of crime. It contains, besides, local prison news, often letters or extracts from letters of released and paroled men ("graduates"), perhaps a little fun, and brief editorials by the superintendent, who is the editor. It is about the only thoroughly clean family newspaper I know; certainly, there are few journals published outside that are fit to circulate inside this prison. It needs a good world to stand some of our newspapers; a prison can not.

In this simple presentation of what I saw at Elmira lies the answer to the question, whether we can probably better our present treatment of criminals. It remains to add the statistical results of eight years of experiment. I should say, inferentially, that no matter what a man's motive may be in submitting to the hard threefold discipline of this institution, with whatever hypocrisy he might behave well, study hard, and work industriously, some years of such discipline must affect his character and affect it radically; in many cases working a regeneration of his whole moral nature and purpose in life. I do not see how he can be in the habit of well-doing in these three ways for a long time and not be radically changed. In fact, the reports show that eighty per cent. of the men going out from here are reformed. That is to say, they do not again fall under the law; it is not supposed that they become saints, but they are fairly law-abiding, do not commit felonies; as somebody wittily said, the object of the institution is to teach men to steal legally. The men are closely watched for six months after they go out, and a general run is kept of many afterward. Some, of course, are discharged because they have served the maximum time, not because they are fit to go. In many cases, where a man would probably prefer an

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honest life, he is so morally debilitated by inheritance and indulgence, that it takes a long time to build up in him enough moral stamina to carry him along safely in life; and the time of detention is often too short. This result—eighty per cent. put in a better way—is astonishing, when we remember that of those ordinarily discharged from State-prisons, sixty per cent. have to be caught and imprisoned again. Certainly that is not a paying thing for the State.

As to economy, I notice by the reports that the Elmira Reformatory does not pay. Its inmates earn by labor from $60,000 to $75,000 a year, but the State has to appropriate annually about $30,000 to carry it on. It is money well spent; for it would cost the State in cash a good deal more than $30,000 a year to catch, try, and send to prison those who would repeat felonies on being discharged, if these men followed the State-prison rule. And this does not take into account the depredations they would commit, the injury to individuals, their bad moral influence, nor the cost of police to catch them.

With such results, the Elmira Reformatory is worthy of the most thoughtful attention of tax-payers, as well as of sociologists.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

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THE LAW'S DELAY.

BEFORE and since Hamlet's soliloquy was written, the law's delay has been a by-word and reproach, a source of anxiety and unhappiness, the cause of mental distress and financial disaster, the object of poetic contempt, an actual impediment to the advance of civilization, and an obstruction to the development of the science of law. Rules of law and statutes should accord with common sense, agree with logical reasoning, avoid absurd consequents, and result, when put in practice, in rapid but not hasty or ill-considered settlement of forensic disputes.

The principal source of the law's delay is the law's defects, originating immediately in the venality, neglect, or incapacity of legislators, which springs from their election by the ignorance, corruption, or partisanship of a class of suffragists who too often hold the balance of power in elections. How to reach the taproot of the evil is the deep and vital question to this country. As the suffrage is the original, ultimate, irresistible power on which the general and State governments rest and their perpetuity depends, nothing else can be so important as the purity and intelligence of the ballot; yet the ballot is in the hands of some who are wholly ignorant of its object and its power; of others who sell it under a thin veil in open market to the highest bidder; and of a much larger number who use it to gratify passionate and unreasoning partisanship, the meaning of whose banner-cry is, "For the offices we are patriots."

There are remedies for this public malady, but to adopt and administer them requires patience, courage, and wisdom. The voter has the jewel of modern, and therefore American, civil liberty in his hands, and he too often casts it in the dust. He is invested with a unit of the only arbitrary power in the government, but regards it with thoughtless indifference, or exercises it with reckless passion. The only certain and substantial relief

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from this condition lies in the education of the people, and the development of the free and enlightening spirit of commerce, which is the best of educators, by improving and connecting, when possible, our great natural water-ways, and opening to us the markets and patronage of the world. The dense illiteracy in many parts of the United States, shown by the last census, is an argument in behalf of public education that no statesman who loves humanity can with sound reason oppose. The man who is too indolent or too perverse to avail himself of the opportunities to learn to read and write that are offered in this country, is undeserving of the right to exercise the important function of a voter. Yet public men, either deficient in statesmanship, or dominated by demagogism, will not openly and bravely advocate an educational qualification, for fear of being charged with possessing tendencies to property qualification, although it would indicate no such thing, but clearly the reverse. For if the people become educated, property aristocracy, whose successes have been universally the result of superior intelligence, could never rule them, and they would not consent to other qualifications of suffrage than those based upon equality and composed of elements common to all. If a law were enacted by each State and by Congress that three years from its passage no person who could not read should vote, and four years after its adoption he should not be qualified to vote if he could not write, there would, within that probationary time, be more real advance in common education than this country has seen in half a century. The American sovereign would discontinue misspending his precious hours at least long enough to learn to read and write. The demagogues would rant a little, and some lazy fellows would yawn against the tyrants who, while breaking the shackles of their ignorance, deprive them of the personal freedom of illiteracy; but the bright dawn of intelligence, under such laws, would soon show the folly and weakness of the opposition. With the people educated in letters, and in the laws of trade and commerce, self-interest, observation, and intelligence would demand better statesmanship and more useful and practical legislation. As a consequence, the people would select wiser law-makers, and the primal causes of the law's delay would gradually disappear.

Passing from the blessings we have not to the curses we endure, it is to be noted that the legislators of the present

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day are guilty of two great sins, among many less, in law-making. First, they pass laws in a hurry, by cabal and cavil, with a little meritorious debate, in order to rush home to their constituents, in search of the politician's balm in Gilead, the approval of the people, whose business they have transacted in the briefest time, on the least information, and with the smallest alleged expense; and in most instances it will cost double the labor, time, and expense to undo the mischief. Second, through selfishness, the generalization of the law is overlooked or disregarded, and special or local legislation is often made the exclusive subject of their attention. Much of this condition of things results from the interference and misdemeanors of the lobby, which in the name of the right of petition obstructs the enactment of equal and uniform laws, and retards the great measures of legislative reform.

Lobbying should be made the object of incessant war and corrective enactment, until it is driven from legislative halls. Its exit would proclaim the inflow of fresh thought, calm deliberation, and renewed legislative vigor, and the end of rifely reported corruption that shames the country, alarms the people, and shakes public confidence. Strike the gyves of the lobby from the limbs of the legislatures, purify their precincts, and another cause of the law's delay would become inconspicuous and finally cease to annoy the country. This view needs no further specification, and from the defective qualifications of voters to select law-makers, and the noxious influence of the lobby, we may descend to a brood of minor evils whose influence is in the same direction.

It is conceded by the well-informed that we have progressed painfully and but little in the true development of civil government; yet, as to theory, America is in advance of the world. The trouble is not in our form of government, which is by far the strongest and best adapted to the ends of civil order and civil liberty; and the deficiency in administration, aside from bad law-givers, consists mainly in the lack of business order in public affairs. The existence of passion, favoritism, nepotism, and subjection to the behests of party, instead of love of country, thoughtfulness, and systematic business principles in the administration of government, with too much esotericism in its conduct, gives posts of honor to servants that impede, and retains officials that resist reform and accuracy in the civil

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service of the country. They forget they are chosen to be about their country's business, in which every citizen has an interest. Thus the want of business capacity and fidelity to the people's trust furnishes many causes for the law's delay, and some for its death. Red tape, or useless technical forms, in judiciary and executive, which have long since done their appointed work and should be remembered only as marks on the way of the law's progress, ought to be dispensed with, and the simple methods of truth and justice adopted.

These general notions, which are more than merely "sugared suppositions," relate particularly to the legislative and executive branches of government, and it is hoped they will dispel in part the popular idea that the law's delay is entirely attributable to the courts. While it is not true that the cause of delay in the administration of justice is to be found, either at all times or more potent, in the courts, yet tardiness in judges and faults in judicial administration do exist. An indolent judge, or one with such shallow impressions of the responsibility of his station as cause him to pass lightly through the performance of his duties, is too often found. The relief furnished by the States lies in the election, at the next regular poll, of somebody else in his place; that by the general government in removal, if his derelictions rise to the dignity of misbehavior, high crime, or misdemeanor. The judiciary is generally composed of the best material the bar affords, but in many instances this is not the case. The cause of the misfortune is in the looseness of the elective system. To the election of judges by the people there is, to my mind, no valid objection; for if vote-selling can be punished and repressed, and suffrage elevated, respected, and understood, the elective system, where the voice of the largest constituency can be invoked, will secure as good judges as any other that can be devised in a republic. Experience teaches that when the whole body of people in a State participate in the election of judges or other officers, better material is presented for their choice than where the election is confined to smaller geographical limits or fewer voters. The extent of country and diversity of interests, character, and attainments of voters repress the pretentious and undeserving, and the result is, that larger constituencies are generally blessed with a higher intellectual and moral grade of officials. All appellate and circuit judges should be elected by the voters of the State at large; and to insure freedom from

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improper influences, arising from the elective system, circuit judges ought to be assigned by the court of highest jurisdiction to districts in which they do not reside. These regulations, it is believed, would sufficiently remove the judges from the bane of political exactions, yet retain the feature of popular elections through which the people control their government. Thus incompetency, so fruitful of delays when it roots itself in the bench, would be diminished, if not extirpated.

Next to the importance of pure and enlightened judges are honest and intelligent jurors. The determination of the facts in criminal and civil trials can never be confided to a better tribunal than the jury, for whose perpetuation the soundest arguments have again and again been repeated. But, like many of the rules and institutions of the common law, the mode of selecting jurors and finding verdicts can, in the light of civilization, be improved. In the first place, no person should be qualified to serve on juries unless moral, sober, intelligent, able to read and write, and possessed of some knowledge of arithmetic. Yet the writer has seen ensconced among "the apostolic twelve," in ambushed ignorance, men who did not know a letter of the alphabet. Juries perform duties that require intelligence and moral courage. The difficult question is, how to select jurors. There are serious objections to the selection by commissioners or sheriffs, for they usually pick from their own church or political party. The best practicable method of securing unbiased and intelligent jurors, is to require the judge, at each term, with the aid of four sworn commissioners taken equally from the political parties, to select the grand and petit jurors himself for the succeeding session, taking an equal number as may be from the different subdivisions of the county, and from the various political parties, without regard to religious tenets. The list should be sealed and delivered to the clerk of the court, and the names of the jurors kept a sworn secret by judge, commissioners, and clerk, until only time is left for breaking the seal and summoning them for the term they are to serve. Any attempt to corrupt or prejudice jurors should be so punished as to render the offender odious; and a corrupt verdict should disqualify the juror engaged in it from serving on juries, voting, or holding office. Let the dangerous method of summoning bystanders to fill vacancies in the panel be abandoned,—the returned list being made large enough to supply the demand,—because it

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encourages the professional juror, and furnishes an unmastered opportunity for packing juries. If such precautionary measures as these were adopted, fewer hung juries, excessive verdicts, and verdicts contrary to law and evidence would be found. Badly informed, partisan, wrong-headed, and careless jurors have, in my experience, consumed more time by their blunders and stubbornness than any other part of the machinery of justice. The requirement of a unanimous verdict is prolific of delay. Often one ignorant, froward, perverse, or corrupt juror will hang a jury without reason, unmindful of the contempt and ridicule that his position deserves. This should not occur in the trial of civil actions; for new trials, accumulating costs, constant destruction or deterioration of the property in controversy, consumption of time, and exasperation of litigants, outweigh vastly the importance of a unanimous verdict, which operates, in most cases, as a preclusion of the better judgments of ten-twelfths of the jury, for the whims, speculation, or something worse of one or two negatives. On the first trial, two jurors ought not to be allowed to hang the jury, and after that a majority verdict should be accepted. This rule would not put justice to hazard, for the court stands, like the reserve of an army, to protect it from disaster; ready to arrest the judgment or set aside the verdict when in conflict with law, evidence, or substantial justice. Its adoption would save one-fourth of the time of *nisi prius* courts, which is now consumed by delays produced by hung juries. To reach the reforms suggested, it is not necessary, nor would they tend, to abolish election of judges by the people or selection of juries from the people. Both are essential to their rights, and must be preserved by the States as the offspring of liberty secured to us by the genius of democratic government.

Here the growing evil of interference, by the mob spirit, with the administration of justice, may be mentioned. The presence of its hideous form, shadowing courts and juries with awe, sends a shudder to the heart of every patriot, and demands the profound consideration of all men who respect law or love peace. It is an undeniable fact that mobs form and notify the courts, in a manner never proven, of their existence; and irregular or illegal convictions often follow, which have to be annulled on review, or the law is thrown into confusion. They sometimes appear on the very floor of the court-room,

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under pretense of mere on-lookers, but ready at each development of evidence tending to justify their passion to applaud, and if the spirit of mobocracy has been lashed into fury by communistic speeches and publications, to burst forth with deafening yells ungoverned or uncontrollable by the courts and officers. Such criminal obstruction of public justice and desecration of the uses of courts pass by with feeble or no effort to punish the perpetrators, and there is no law sufficient to bring them to the bar to answer for this gravest of crimes. And the same mob that thus prevent a fair and legal trial distribute themselves back into the community to denounce courts, threaten jurors, and breed discontent over the law's delay when the result of their wild and ignorant work is undone by calm, intelligent, and impartial courts. No one can estimate the amount of judicial work that mobs and the mob spirit compel the courts to do over and over again. Here is a detestable evil for political philosophers to examine and expose, for the law-abiding citizen to encounter, and the bravery of the country to destroy, before it enshrouds us in the darkness of communism.

Among many other causes of the law's delay is the great bulk and conflict of laws. The vast number of volumes of reports, in which law and *dicta* are found in an almost indistinguishable mass, render it a physical impossibility for the judges to examine all of them on every question, and also decide the cases assigned to them or brought in their courts, without dispensing with the maximized right of every citizen under the constitution to a speedy and public trial. Hence the codification of American law is a growing and urgent necessity that cannot be withstood much longer.

The law's delay begins and ends with the people. Its intermediate forces and remedies of control have been named in part, but of course not elaborated. They are looped in every nook and cranny of the political edifice in which we live, and within whose walls governments within a government are at work solving the question whether man is capable of governing himself. The labor of origination, making possible a sound and just government, was done when its ichnography was drawn and its foundations laid. Our duty and service point us to adjustment, correction, method, and perfection in the details of a faultless plan of government, whose founders "builded better than they knew."

THOMAS F. HARGIS.

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FREE THOUGHT IN AMERICA.

THERE is a notion even in refined circles in America that the influence of a man like Colonel Robert Ingersoll may be an influence for good. I altogether fail to see it. While doing full justice to the honesty, the courage, and the good humor of this remarkable orator, I am convinced that he is precisely the sort of teacher—I had almost written devil's advocate—to whom Americans should just now shut their ears. Free thought should be distinguished from the offenses against common intelligence committed by a Philistine of the Philistines. Ingersoll enters the temples of religion with his hat on one side, a cigar in his mouth, and a jest upon his lips. No matter who the god may be,—Vishnu, Buddha, Apollo, or Jesus,—he is ready to tackle him in his own peculiar vocabulary. His philosophy may be summed up in the words of Burns:

> "To keep a cozy fireside clean
> For weans and wife—
> That 's the true pathos and sublime
> O' human life!"

This philosophy is all very well in its way, just as well as eating and drinking, dancing, marrying and giving in marriage, and infant-dandling; but if it were all-sufficient, George the Third would have been a great king, and Voltaire would have been a great poet. To take Colonel Ingersoll seriously, of course, would be like asking for reverence from Mark Twain. He represents the natural reaction of American Bohemianism against the Puritanism of Boston and the overstrained transcendentalism of Brook Farm. But he is just the sort of person of whom America does not stand in need. The predominant vices of America, especially as represented by its great cities, are its irreverence, its recklessness, its impatience—in one

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word, its materialism. A nation in which the artistic sense is almost dead, which is practically without a literature, which is impatient of all sanctions and indifferent to all religions, which is corrupt from the highest pinnacle of its public life down to the lowest depth of its primalism, which is at once thin-skin'd under criticism and aggressive to criticise, which worships material forces in every shape and form, which despises conventional conditions, yet is slavish to ignoble fashions, which, too hasty to think for itself, takes recklessly at second-hand any old- or new-clothes philosophy that may be imported from Europe, yet, while wearing the raiment openly, mocks and ridicules the civilization that wove the fabric — such a nation, I think, might be spared the spectacle of an elderly gentleman in modern costume trampling on the lotus, the rose, and the lily in the gardens of the gods. The exhibition can do no good; it may do no little harm. If the science of mythology did not exist, if the old gods or the new had any bloody altars left, if the tongue of free thought had not been loosened once and forever, it might be another matter; but the danger now is, not that men may believe too much, but that they may believe too little; that in due time skepticism, which has demolished all religions and fatally discredited the divine religion of poetry itself, may turn the temple of mystery into a bear-garden or a beer-garden, exchange the language of literature for the argot of the cheap press, and Americanize even the sentiment of humanity. "I beg to remind honorable gentlemen," said Benjamin Disraeli, on a memorable occasion, "that we owe much to the Jews." I beg to remind the Colonel Ingersolls and Mark Twains of this continent that we owe much to the gods, without whom, when all is said and done,

"The world would smell like what it is -- a tomb!"

But for them, Europe would have been Americanized long ago; but for them, Europe would have arrived centuries since at the blessed era of presidential elections, colossal public swindles, races for money-bags, the torturing rack of the interviewer, and the inquisition of the newspaper; but for them, but for the divine tyrants and instructors of mankind, malignant or benignant, terrible or beautiful, the pessimism of Schopenhauer and Leopardi might have been antedated a thousand years. For my

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own part, I should prefer even to accept hell with John Calvin, rather than to eat cakes, drink ale, and munch hot ginger with Colonel Ingersoll. He is the boy in the gallery, cracking nuts and making precocious comments during the performance of the tragedy of life; blind to the splendor of the scenery, deaf to the beauty of the dialogue, indifferent to the pathetic or tragic solicitations of the players; seeing in Christ or Buddha or Jehovah only a leading man spouting platitudes, and indifferently dressed for the part he is playing. A great mythus is to him a great "lie," nothing more; a great poetical theology is only an invention of the arch-enemy. Hugely does he enjoy the joke of the garden of Eden or the tree of Iggdrassil; clearly does he perceive, having hung round the stage-door of the world, that the goddesses are only ballet-girls, exhibiting their nudity for so much a night. For him Æschylus has no terror, Sophocles no charm, the author of the Book of Job no pathos; everything is leather-and-prunella, except the performance of Harlequin.

That such a person should have a large following, among a generation so much of his way of thinking, is no matter for surprise; a few centuries ago it might have been a cause for joy; but in the nineteenth century it is truly sad, as showing how little science has done, after all, to elevate the intellectual condition of the masses. The same uninstructed influence that is thus brought to bear upon religion would speedily be fatal, and already, as I have suggested, threatens to be fatal to all poetry, all true literature, all great art, and, in the long run, all speculative science. Colonel Ingersoll is very fond of proclaiming his admiration for the great scientific teachers of the age; but in reality he is as far away in spirit from the thought of Darwin as from the vision of Shakespeare, as obtuse to the scientific problems as to the pathetic poetic fallacy. Religion is the grave, elder daughter of Poetry, and to understand religious questions a man must have the heart of a poet. Science, too, is the daughter of Poetry; indeed, her youngest born; while calmer and colder than her mother, she has the same far-away, wrapt look into the heaven of heavens; and her teaching is for poetic hearts also, not for those who confound her with her sordid and hardworking handmaid, Invention. Science ranges the universe, reaches the farthest suns, reaches the farthest cloud confines, and cries honestly and loudly, "Thus far — no farther — here I pause"; and then even she begins to dream. Invention

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squats on the ground, sets her little water-wheel, lights her little lamp, pieces her mechanical puzzles, does homely work, delightful and useful to everybody. But Invention-worship is fetish-worship, and Colonel Ingersoll is a fetish-worshiper—that is to say, an individual exactly at the savage stage where neither religion nor science begins. To go to him for religious guidance, is like asking a native of the kingdom of Dahomey to favor us with his ideas on Free-will, the Incarnation, the philosophy of Plato, the art of Raphael, the poetry of Æschylus, the music of Beethoven, and the positive philosophy of Comte or Spencer.

The Christian stage, whatever objection we may take to it, is higher than the fetish-stage, and the lowest form of anthropomorphism is infinitely superior to totem-worship. The mass of mankind do not need to be told that it is well to fill their bellies, to love their children, to live amicably with one another, to accept no guidance but their own very questionable "common-sense"; all that is taught to them of right and of necessity by the conditions of that period of evolution which they have already attained. What they require to learn is, that life necessitates divine sanctions as well as cheery conditions; that the gods are not dead, but living, imperishable ideals fashioned by the sublimest and supremest conceptions of mankind; that the truth of any religion lies not in its dogma, but in its moral beauty or poetical imperishability, because just so far as it is beautiful is it fundamentally and actually true; that our sharpest hours of suffering contain our clearest moments of insight; and that human love and sympathy are born, not of common junketing, but of common despair and sorrow. The gospel of hot ginger, as preached by Colonel Ingersoll, would soon make of New York another Sodom. Fortunately, such a man as Octavius Frothingham is hard by to vindicate the poetry of religion against the champions of cakes and ale, and to prove that free thought, even in America, does not necessarily imply free permission to outrage your neighbor's most sacred convictions.

Mr. Frothingham is well known to most readers of this REVIEW as one of the most brilliant and enlightened apostles of free thought or radical religion in America. Until quite lately, I believe, he preached every Sunday in New York; with the field of his present labors I am unacquainted; but my knowledge of him is altogether based on his writings and on

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Mr. Stedman's little monograph — one of those admirably lucid bits of crystallization for which the writer is distinguished. Of course, a man educated like myself in the school of English Jacobinism finds in Mr. Frothingham a not very novel type of thinker, uttering sentiments with which the world of free thought has long been familiar; but the author of "Transcendentalism in New England" has a distinct individuality, often perfervid, occasionally convincing, and never tiresome. His style is admirable, even where his matter is questionable, as it now and then is; and, on the whole, America is to be congratulated on the privilege of listening to such a man. But does America listen to him? It would very much astonish me to hear that it did. His faith is far too filmy, his foothold much too unsteady, to carry conviction to the hearts of a hasty generation. His tolerance to all religions, all opinions, all orthodoxies and heresies, is beautiful and welcome, but his infinite patience lacks, to my mind, the shaping power of conviction. He has set his soul free of every bond and shackle, but he leaves it to beat the empty air. With all this, it must be clearly understood that his written works have the highest of all literary merits, that of directly stimulating thought in the reader; they are full of grave, wise, tender, even profound things, expressed in perfect language; they are reverent to the very extremes of their gentle audacity; and there can be no doubt whatever that they have had a deeply beneficent influence whenever and wherever they have been studied. But the fatal spirit of a self-destructive latitudinarianism, which has paralyzed the will of every transcendentalist from Hegel downward, possesses Mr. Frothingham also. His message to men carries no conviction, for it has neither the hate of hate nor the love of love; it lacks the fertilizing energy and superb bigotry of a logical belief.

Mr. Frothingham, for example, utterly repudiates anthropomorphism. The universe, in his conception, is as it was to Springer, as it has been to every true transcendentalist, a system of universal law, entirely divorced from personality. From one point of view, this conception is rational and impregnable; from another, it is inexpedient, not to say trivial. No sane man doubts the profundity of the current ideas on which Mr. Frothingham sails so cheerfully; of the "stream of tendency" and the "power beyond ourselves which works for righteousness"; but many men doubt, as I do, the scientific necessity, or

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the mental possibility, of divorcing the idea of God from the idea of personality. The poetical image of the magnified non-natural man at least hits the mark better than the preposterous images of "streams" and "tendencies" and impersonal working "powers" beyond humanity. Very instructive it is to observe, in this connection, how the apostle of blind law, taken off his guard, appropriates the anthropomorphic metaphors:

"The Radical has no definition; he does not venture on a written definition. He will not define or confine the infinite. He has no interpretation which he can accept or impose upon anybody else; but the substance of the idea he holds in a manner so transcendental, grand, vast, and beautiful that the others dwarf themselves into utter insignificance. The Hebrew Jehovah seems to him a fanciful and fantastical idea; the Christian's triune deity is limited; and the theist's conception of the personal God is bounded. The Radical believes in the universal law, omnipotent, omnipresent, sweeping through the world, administering the least things, controlling the greatest, holding close relations between you and me, holding in the hollow of its hand all the affairs of all the nations of the globe. This idea of law — material, intellectual, spiritual — comprehends everything, all the domain of reason, all the domain of hope, so vast that no faith can scale its heights, so tender that one can lie like a child on its bosom, so mighty and majestic that nobody need be afraid that it cannot overcome every obstacle in the way of the highest and noblest advance." ("The Mission of the Radical Preacher," by O. B. Frothingham.)

Which, after all, is the most illogical and fantastic, the idea of a Hebrew Jehovah, or of a Christian triune deity, or the picture of a universal law that "administers" and "controls," holds affairs in "the hollow of its hand," and is so "tender that one can lie like a child on its bosom"? Every one admits that God, in the absolute, is unknowable and inconceivable; but the consensus of human experience has established that the only image that can represent his relation to conditioned creatures is the human or anthropomorphic one, though it has made modern scientists so angry. After all, is not the rejection of the popular image made in the most "crass" spirit of transcendentalism? Where is the wisdom of a criticism that would endow blind law with "hands" and a "bosom," and in the same breath object to the terminology of the Lord's Prayer?

Elsewhere in the same book from which I have quoted, Mr. Frothingham's language becomes less contradictory, but even more extraordinary — so extraordinary, indeed, that, if it came from any other pen, one might presume that the writer had no

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spiritual claim to speak *in cathedra* on religious topics at all. In proclaiming his revolt from the Christian religion, and his rejection of the Christian idea, he admits, regretfully, that the Christian faith still prevails, that it keeps alive the potent activities that sustain the life of Christendom. Nevertheless, he adds, "it is a superstition; it is not grounded on history, on knowledge, on science, on fact, but it is a fancy, an imagination, a tradition"; and now, in the natural course of things, it is dissolving away before the breath of science. People, he naïvely affirms, reject it in the great centers of activity — in Paris, in Berlin, in London, in New York! Among other reasons for the long permanence of this false faith, and its still surviving power, he gives the following: 1. The exceeding antiquity of the system; 2. The hindrances so long thrown in the way of Biblical criticism; 3. *Mirabile dictu*, the persistence with which the faith is taught. The last reason is a superb *non sequitur;* it is simply affirming that the zeal with which an army fights its battles is in direct ratio to the weakness of its cause. But, not content with so wonderful an affirmation, Mr. Frothingham goes on to arraign Christianity because it is the "religion of sorrow." He quotes both Jesus and Paul in illustration of his statement. Then he adds, not without eloquence:

"Through the chinks we can see the light. The condition of man becomes more comfortable, more easy; the hope of man is more visible; the endeavor of man is more often crowned with success; the attempt to solve the darkest life-problems is not so desperate as it was. The reformer meets with fewer rebuffs; the philanthropist does not despair as he did. The light is dawning. The great teachers of knowledge multiply, bear their burdens more and more steadily; the traditions of truth and knowledge are becoming established in the intellectual world. It is so; and those of us who have caught a vision of the better times coming through reason, through knowledge, through manly and womanly endeavor, have caught a sight of a Christendom passing away, of a religion of sorrow declining, of a gospel preached for the poor no longer useful to a world that is mastering its own problems of poverty and lifting itself out of disabling misery into wealth without angelic assistance. This is our consolation; and while we admit, clearly and frankly, the real power of the popular faith, we also see the pillars on which a new faith rests, which shall be a faith not of sorrow, but of joy." ("The Rising and the Setting Faith, and other Discourses," by O. B. Frothingham.)

Is it necessary to demolish this cumbrous snow-heap of misconception, to point out the fallacy that confuses the Christian

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sentiment with the utilitarian philosophy of loaves and fishes? If all that Jesus meant was that the poor should become the rich in another world, and the suffering become the joyful; if the kernel of his teaching was merely, as narrow logicians have suggested, the notion that bad luck here would of necessity insure a bonus elsewhere, Christianity would stand but a poor chance at the hands of either the higher or the lower criticism. What Jesus did teach, or what we have learned at least by the divine ideal that he afforded, was, and is, that worldly knowledge, worldly prosperity, worldly success and happiness, are poor things compared with the heaven of sin vanquished, the other world of supreme love and insight. If the triumph of the political economist were quite secure; if the earth were equally divided among men according to some such scheme as that of Henry George; if there were no work-houses in it, and no prisons, the poor would still inherit the kingdom of heaven; for the true poor of the Christian idea are those who despise ignoble prizes, who are indifferent to vain knowledge, who have found in the certainty of human failure the sublimity of sympathetic love and insight. It must be borne in mind, too, that Jesus could sit down with the rich man as well as the poor, when the rich man was poor "in spirit." To refute Mr. Frothingham here would be to refute the whole argument of utilitarianism, which has already been done, or attempted, and is of course far beyond the scope of this paper; nor am I in any way holding a brief for the Christian religion, or speaking from the point of view of the orthodox believer. But let us have fair play on both sides, nor attempt to answer the proposition that one may be multiplied into three by an assertion that two and two are four. Elsewhere Mr. Frothingham clearly expresses his conviction that perfect happiness is simply impossible under mundane conditions, and that mere knowledge and power may be, and generally are, in the nature of vanity. As long as these things are true, there is room in our dialectics for the Christian argument that the compensations of a higher and nobler life are precisely what is needed for the settlement of the complex human problem. It is so melancholy to find a thinker like Mr. Frothingham, among Americans, of all people in the world, arguing that there is to be a millennium of inexhaustible dry goods and of physical prosperity, compared with which the coming of the Messiah would be but an ineffective performance.

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Mr. Frothingham writes very eloquently on evolution; accepts all its splendid suggestions, both in the material and in the moral world; shows clearly that cause follows effect in the social as well as the physical sphere, and that out of evil must come evil, and out of good must issue good. He accepts, if I understand him rightly, the Comtist notion of the perfectibility of humanity, and infinitely prefers the *Grand Être*, or divine administration of the genius of man, to either Jehovah or Jesus, Buddha or Balder. He does not, however, imitate Colonel Ingersoll in treating any of these gods with disrespect, but he nevertheless measures them with his free-thought foot-rule, and finds them, at the best, only a cubit high. What, after all, is this *Grand Être* of which we hear so much? Not the Son of Man transubstantiated, but the Spirit of Man glorified; not the Paraclete, the Redeemer, or the Divine Ideal, but the vague, impersonal, stupendous, and overpowering outcome of all human intelligence, effort, suffering, limitless struggle, and despair. His other names are Science, Knowledge, Intellectual Victory, Moral Supremacy; his other name will be Happiness, or *Summum Bonum*, by and by. Well, when our *Grand Être* looks forward, what will be his prospect? A reign of indefinite but not endless length, cut short inevitably, sooner or later, by the cataclysm of our solar system. In the far future, then, inevitable Death. When he looks backward, what must be his retrospect? Far away as the first beginnings of life he traces the progression from pain to pain, marks the graves of the generations, from the tomb of the pterodactyl in the chalk to the sepulchre of Franklin among the Arctic snows. Far backward, then, Death too; æons of agony, vistas of the types that have perished to fashion the *Grand Être* for his short ecstatic reign. Science may smile at the thought of compensation; but surely the *Grand Être*, with his supreme potentialities of pity, must say to himself, "Alas and alas! though my children now rejoice like motes in the sunbeam, what of those who have been destroyed, tortured, and obliterated in the long darkness that preceded this splendid dawn of day?" And so, after all, the *Grand Être*, with all his good intentions, finds his poor feet slipping and sinking in the arid sands of pessimism, and the only gospel left for his worshipers to preach will be the old weary gospel of the materialist, "Eat, drink, and be happy, for to-morrow we die!"

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But to do Mr. Frothingham justice, he is not a pessimist. In one of the very finest of his essays, the sermon on "Immortality," a piece of writing that can be read and re-read for its marvelous clearness of exposition and its consummate beauty of expression, he echoes, though somewhat half-heartedly, the great hope of the human race for an individual existence after death. But in scrutinizing his argument closely, we perceive that, while he welcomes with enthusiasm the conception of the *Grand Être*, and states that chimerical being's case with splendid eloquence, he is lost in amazement that humanity ever contained that other idea of a personal immortality; can see no rational excuse for it; fears, indeed, that it is altogether too shadowy to be at all tangible. All he can venture to say in plea for it is that its very audacity favors it, its very wildness is its guarantee. Here, again, we get frank confession, but bad logic. How a faith can be vindicated by its own sheer improbability, how a belief may be true because it goes in the teeth of all experience, I leave for the transcendentalists of free thought to decide. I believe the evolutionists have clearly explained how the notion of life after death "developed" easily out of the first superstitions of the human race, and how its permanence in all communities and most individuals proceeds from the permanence of other instincts seemingly imperishable. But where I join issue with Mr. Frothingham is at the one point where issue is possible — that the idea of immortality is irrational and opposed to common experience; for if it were so, there can be no doubt that it would have been "obliterated" long ago in the process of evolution. It is not because it is preposterous, but because it is probable, that it has kept its strenuous hold on the hearts of mankind. Jesus, in his supreme practical wisdom, in his relentless logic, perceived this fully, perceived that this very idea was the natural, indeed the only, escape from between the horrors of our mundane dilemma. And forthwith (for I hold that this man, whatever his credentials, was scientific or nothing) he proceeded to verification. Opening the human heart, he found that it demanded ampler life on account of the infinite possibilities of love without it. Examining the social organism, he saw that its structure was welded together by the blood of human martyrdom, that every hope and every aspiration within it were based upon the certainty that consciousness, and all its consequent affections, must be permanent, and therefore immaterial. The law of growth was

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absolute, the indestructibility of force was sure, and the permanence of force was the certainty of the soul. As for his creed being one of sorrow, that is not strictly true; it is the world that is sorrowful, not the creed that redeems it, which, after all, has never until now had a fair trial. Christianity in its essence, apart from its miraculous pretensions, is, like the mind of its founder, strictly simple and scientific. It may not be feasible, we may be altogether unable to believe it, its history is a long chapter of horrors and enormities, and for some inscrutable reason its priests and paid professors have almost invariably been the enemies of human progress; but, compared with any other creed that has been offered in God's name to men, it has the solitary merit of logical truth and common-sense. If we admit its fundamental proposition, that spiritual personality is permanent, and is at the same time directly conditioned by unselfish love and brotherhood, all the mystery and pain, all the struggle of the ages, becomes clear. Moral salvation, being independent of dogma or of worldly happiness, was as possible for the first half-savage human product as it is possible now for the highest and the meanest of mankind. Knowledge is nothing, power is nothing, material success is nothing; the insight of love is everything, and looks right up into the heaven of heavens, crying, "Oh, grave, where is thy victory? Oh, death, where is thy sting?"

In saying so much, perhaps, concerning one or two points of Mr. Frothingham's teaching, I may seem to be carping at what I came to praise. Let me repeat, then, that the said teaching is in the main as wise as it is beneficent, as beautiful as it is just. For every flower that grows in the gardens of the gods, Mr. Frothingham has reverent admiration; he is Pharisaic to no creed, but tolerant toward all. With his faith in the teaching of science I can find no fault, except that it blinds him now and then to the subtler issues of life and experience; it is, indeed, a kind of faith that must grow in the hearts of all men, and ultimately, I believe, lead to the triumph of the Christian ideal. The star of a holy purpose shines at all times, more or less brightly, through the clouds of the writer's transcendentalism. For with all his scientific leanings he is of the race that produced Emerson and Theodore Parker; he possesses by temperament their vagueness and haziness of logic, leading sometimes to that universal tolerance which makes religion blow neither

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hot nor cold, but lukewarm. Mr. Frothingham has done noble work in negativing the pretensions of still rampant dogmatisms and special Providences, in asserting the supreme right of private judgment, in bearing testimony from the pulpit that the teachings of science, instead of narrowing, enlarge the heavenly horizons, and in following the divine thread of meaning to be found in all creeds and all theologies. His teaching has the one cardinal defect, that it lacks the consecrating touch of pathos that accompanies the highest kind of spiritual solicitation, which we feel as certainly in the Buddhist books as in the Jewish Testament, in the tragedies of Sophocles as well as in the moralities of John Bunyan, and in the prophesies of Walt Whitman (despite all the Emersonian leaven) as well as in the child-like songs of Whittier. For this is the fatal tendency of transcendentalism—to soften the lines of conviction, and to strain the anguish out of sentiment. There is no pathos in Emerson; never once does his gentle hand, grasping its soothsayer's wand, touch the fountain of tears; yet even such a man as Spurgeon can stir that fountain, if only with the mere breath of a phrase. And no creed without pathos will ever justify the great human hope, or conquer the great human heart. So I part from Mr. Frothingham with no lack of respect and admiration, but with some little sadness, feeling that the tale he has to tell is one already twice told, and misses the charm of those fairy stories of God which will continue to add to human happiness, so long as the heart of man is as a child's and some glimpses of a heavenly dream remain.

ROBERT BUCHANAN.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSIAN POETRY.

PERSIAN poetry had its birth in a country conspicuous for natural advantages; a country distinguished for the mildness of its climate, the clearness of its streams, and the perpetual verdure of its plains; a country of lofty mountains, inland seas, and rolling rivers; the land of the gazelle, the camel, and the caravan; a land abounding in fruits and flowers, full of pleasant gardens, and enlivened with the songs of innumerable birds; a land where millions of butterflies of the richest colors were wafted through the summer air. In this land of the olive, the date, the pomegranate, and the fig, where the palms of the South met the pines of the North, was reared a race of men combining in a rare degree ingenuity, vivacity, intellectual force, subtlety, and refinement of manners. The Persians early acquired repute as a people of taste, invention, and artistic skill. The finest silks, the richest velvets, the costliest brocades, the softest and rarest carpets, and the most splendid tissues were of Persian origin. The art newly discovered in America and Europe, how to combine great variety of colors with perfect harmony, and to delight the eye with soft and pleasing gradations, producing a rich composite effect from the simplest elements, was original with the Persians centuries ago. The very figures of floor-cloth on which the Shah Mahmoud walked in the tenth century, the shawl patterns that adorned the heroines of Jami and of Hafiz, are imitated in the looms of England and the United States to-day. In architecture and the fine arts, as in decorative art, the Persians of the middle ages achieved a notable success. Their chief cities showed splendid palaces, filled with gems of art and sparkling with jewels, and stately mosques with white or azure domes.

Nor was it an effeminate race, steeped in pleasure and enervated by luxury, that enjoyed all these advantages. Their

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bodies were strong and supple, while strikingly handsome in form and countenance. The Persians were adepts in archery and horsemanship, and were distinguished by courtesy and high-breeding. Even the common people were keen admirers of poetry, and were continually calling upon their favorite bards to recite their verses.

Persia, the Iran of the ancients, though its boundaries have varied in different centuries, has occupied substantially that portion of Central Asia extending from the twenty-fifth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, and its climate, like that of the United States, includes every zone, from the semi-tropical almost to the frigid. Persia's writers possessed the history and literature of the Scriptures, and some of their finest poems and allegories have allusions or adaptations from them.

In the period from the tenth to the fourteenth century all her great poets flourished, and this may be styled the golden age of her literature. It is one of the most remarkable facts of history, that at the time when the literature of what is called enlightened Europe was at its lowest ebb, when for centuries not a book was produced there worth the reading, the genius and learning of Asiatic nations shone out in their greatest luster. Not only in Persia, but in Arabia and India was produced a succession of works of the imagination, of philosophy and science, which were the sole permanent contributions to the world's literature in that age. Genius and imagination in Europe had gone to sleep, and it was literally the sleep of ages. The splendid literature of the classic period in Greece and Rome had no successors, but only the feeblest of imitators. The dark ages hung like a pall over Italy and Greece, over France and Germany, over Spain and England. The renaissance of letters and art that was to follow gave no premonitory sign. Just at this time came a great intellectual development in the East. The poetry and art of the Persians, and the imaginative literature of Arabia, produced their greatest works. It was an age of intellectual decrepitude and intolerance; an age when the inestimable remains of Greek poetry were publicly burned at Constantinople, by order of a Greek emperor; an age when the inhabitants of all Europe besides had scarcely heard of the Greek poets at all; when England was buried in semi-barbarism; when America was an unbroken wilderness. Into this unpromising age came the poetry of the Persians,—fresh, original, melodious, full of

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fire, and animated by the most lively coloring. It had for its vehicle a language singularly flexible, musical, and sonorous, which has been called the softest and richest in the world. While the Arabic tongue, to which the Persian is allied, is more striking, impetuous, and strong, the Persian excels in tenderness and sweetness. A single stanza of rhymed couplets may suffice as a specimen:

"Gulistáni tehu gulzári giuvani,
Guli sirábi abi zendegani,
Nuvaï endelibi ashretanghize
Huvaï atar bizé ráhetamize."

If there is any one dialect better fitted than another to a sweet and melodious poetical expression, it is that of the Persians. And it is almost equally adapted to the expression of sublime ideas. Add to this gift of language the influence of climate and of picturesque scenery, in a country where the open air continually invites abroad, adorned with almost perpetual verdure, and hemmed in by lofty blue mountains, and you have conditions favorable in a high degree to the poetic temperament. To these influences of nature as seen by day succeeded the splendors of the night, when the contemplative man (for the Persian almost lived on the house-top) turned from his inward thoughts, fixing his eyes on the stars, and enjoyed the glory of the heavens. In a genial and temperate clime, with abundant leisure, free from those enervating heats which conspire on the more torrid plains of India and Arabia to wilt the energies of man, the poets of Persia were inspired to sing as naturally as the roses to bloom. We find in their compositions two leading, though somewhat contrasted, characteristics: a sensuous beauty, reflecting intimately the charms of nature around them, and thus objective in a high degree; and a contemplative, speculative, sometimes mystical tone, peculiar to the subjective school of poetry. In these two species of composition the poetry of the Persians affords numerous specimens of the highest order. Nowhere else have the charms of natural objects, of fruits and flowers, of trees and birds, of mountains and running waters, been more finely celebrated. The reproach so often brought against the literature of classic times, that the great poets of Greece and Rome never celebrate the praises of natural scenery, does not lie at the door of the Persian bards. The rose and the bulbul, the lily

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and the jasmine, the cypress and the palm, the valley and the mountain, continually appear in their verse. Then, too, in their amatory gazels, the fair one is described with passionate adoration and exuberant imagery, combined with a delicacy of sentiment that never degenerates into coarseness. Whether celebrating the praise of wine, of woman, or of nature, there is an ethereal touch which seems borrowed from the atmosphere of that halcyon clime wherein the poet worked. The best Persian compositions, alike in prose and in verse, are marked by fine poetic imagery, combined with a profusion of metaphor. All things are viewed through an imaginative medium. Sir William Jones says that the oriental poets surpass in beauty of diction, and in power of imagery, all the authors of Europe, save only the Greek lyric poets, and Horace among the Latins. Metaphor is almost the natural dialect of the Persian. Thus, a generous man is called "the rose of liberality"; fame is "the sweet savor of renown"; and to write verses is "to string pearls." Among their fine similes is the comparison of a violet sparkling with dew to the blue eyes of a beautiful girl in tears; and of a warrior advancing at the head of his troops, to an eagle cleaving the air and piercing the clouds with his impetuous wings. Allegory, or a string of metaphors, is very common; as, for example, "When the tempest of fear had torn the veil of their understanding, and the deluge of despair had submerged the vessel of their hopes, in order that they might emerge from the gulf of danger and reach the haven of safety, they turned the rudder of flight and spread the sails of swift retreat." If this metaphorical tendency sometimes degenerates (as in the poets of the Elizabethan and later ages in England) into unnatural images and poor conceits, this blemish is comparatively rare among the poets of the highest rank.

The Persian gazel is a kind of verse in which the first two lines rhyme, and then this rhyme repeats itself only in the second line of each succeeding couplet. Here is an example:

"Thee have thousands sought in vain
Over land and barren main,

"Chidher's well,—of which men say,
That thou makest young again.

"Fountain of eternal youth,
Washing free from every stain,

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"To thy waves the aged moons
Aye betake them when they wane;

"*And the suns their golden light,*
While they bathe in thee, retain.

"From that fountain drops are flung,
Mingling with the vernal rain,

"And the old earth clothes itself
In its young attire again.

"And the timid wild gazelles
Seek it through the desert plain."

The most celebrated among the sustained poetic compositions of Persia is unquestionably the "Shah-Namah," or "Book of Kings," composed by Firdusi (A. D. 941–1020) during the thirty years of his life running from the fiftieth to the eightieth. This great historical epic relates the history of Persia from the earliest times to the invasion of the Arabs under the Caliph Omar, A. D. 641. It is as long as the Iliad, and is unrivaled in Persian literature for the power and eloquence of its verse. It has for one of its principal heroes Rustem, the lion-hearted, an oriental Achilles, whom Firdusi celebrates as a prodigy of force, valor, and wisdom. He subdues dragons and other monsters, has a charmed horse named Baktra, or Lightning, and is described as a mighty warrior, wielding preternatural powers. The creation of peris and of the dives of the Persians marks the undoubted originals of our fairies and genii. These fictions were probably transplanted into Europe by the Moors, an Asiatic race, and from them adopted into the romances of Spain. Firdusi's creative faculty is wonderful; his great work abounds throughout in bold and animated descriptions, and in certain portions rises to the highest sublimity. But a single specimen, in each kind, of his descriptive power, can here be given:

"Look forth, companions, cast afar your eyes,
Where yonder many-colored plain extends:
Ah! in my breast what sweet sensations rise!
Behold how each soft charm of nature blends.

"The tender silken grass invites the tread;
With musky odor breathes the fanning air;
Pure waters glide along their perfumed bed,
As though the rose gave them her essence rare.

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"The lily stalk bends with her fragrant flower,
The luster of the rose glads every bower.

"The pheasant walks with graceful pace along;
Soft doves and mournful nightingales are nigh,
Charming the silence with a mingled song,
And murmurs from the cypress boughs reply.

"There in gay groups, beneath the trees, beside
Those streams that through the vales in music glide,
Lovely as fairies, beautiful as day,
Are maids who wander on in sportive play.

. . . . . .

"She decks the plain with beauty as she goes,
Before her shrink, ashamed, the jasmine and the rose!

"And there are Turkish maids that near them rove
With forms like cypress boughs, that zephyrs move,
Locks dark as musk — and see! each veil discloses
Eyes filled with sleep, and cheeks all full of roses."

The entertainment prepared for Rustem is thus described, as rendered by James Atkinson:

"The ready herald, by the king's command,
Convened the chiefs and warriors of the land;
And soon the banquet social glee restored,
And China wine-cups glittered on the board;
And cheerful song, and music's magic power,
And sparkling wine beguiled the festive hour.
The dulcet draughts o'er Rustem's senses stole,
And melting strains absorbed his softened soul.
But when approached the period of repose,
All, prompt and mindful, from the banquet rose;
A couch was spread well worthy such a guest,
Perfumed with rose and musk; and whilst at rest,
In deep sound sleep, the wearied champion lay,
Forgot were all the sorrows of the way.

"One watch had passed, and still sweet slumber shed
Its magic power around the hero's head,
When forth Talmineh came — a damsel held
An amber taper, which the gloom dispelled —
And near his pillow stood; in beauty bright,
The monarch's daughter struck his wondering sight.

"Clear as the moon, in glowing charms arrayed,
Her winning eyes the light of heaven displayed.
Her cypress form entranced the gazer's view,
Her waving curls the heart resistless drew.

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Her eyebrows, like the archer's bended bow;
Her ringlets, snares; her cheek, the rose's glow,
Mixed with the lily; from her ear-tips hung
Rings rich and glittering, star-like; and her tongue
And lips, all sugared sweetness; pearls the while
Sparkled within a mouth formed to beguile.
Her presence dimmed the stars, and breathing round
Fragrance and joy, she scarcely touched the ground,
So light her step, so graceful every part
Perfect, and suited to her spotless heart."

Khokani, who died at Tabriz, in 1186, is considered the most learned of the lyric poets of Persia. Here are some stanzas from one of his gazels:

"Oh, waving cypress! cheek of rose!
Oh, jasmine-breathing bosom! say,
Tell me each charm that round her glows,
Who are ye that my heart betray?
Tyrant unkind! to whom I bow,
Oh, life-destroyer, who art thou?

"I saw thy form of waving grace,
I heard thy soft and gentle sighs,
I gazed on that enchanting face,
And looked in thy Narcissus eyes.
Oh, by the hopes thy smiles allow,
Bright soul-inspirer! who art thou?

"Where'er she walks, amidst the shades,
Where perfumed hyacinths unclose,
Danger her every glance pervades,
Her bow is bent on friends and foes.
Thy rich cheek shames the rose, thy brow
Is like the young moon—who art thou?"

The poet Nizami, who lived from A. D. 1100 to about 1180, had fine descriptive powers, and ranks high in the romantic school of poets. Of his works, known as "The Five Treasures," the "Loves of Khosru and Shireen" is the finest. The following from Atkinson's translation is a brief specimen:

"On lofty Beysitoun the lingering sun
Looks down on ceaseless labors long begun;
The mountain trembles to the echoing sound
Of falling rocks that from her sides rebound.
Each day, all respite, all repose denied,
Without a pause the thundering strokes are plied.

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The mist of night around the summits coils,
But still Ferhad, the lover-artist, toils.
And still, the flashes of his axe between,
He sighs to every wind, 'Alas, Shireen!'

. . . . . .

"The piles give way, the rocky peaks divide,
The stream comes gushing on, a foaming tide,
A mighty work for ages to remain,
The token of his passion and his pain.

. . . . . .

"Around the pair, lo! chiseled courtiers wait,
And slaves and pages grouped in solemn state;
From columns imaged wreaths their garlands throw,
And fretted roofs with stars appear to glow;
Fresh leaves and blossoms seem around to spring,
And feathered throngs their loves seem murmuring.
The hands of peris might have wrought those stems
Where dew-drops hang their fragile diadems,
And strings of pearl and sharp-cut diamonds shine
New from the wave, or recent from the mine."

Hafiz (1300–1391?) is prince of the poets of good cheer. His nimble fancy adorns the wine-cup with all the flowers of song. Nor is he merely a gay trifler; his gazels have a high reach of thought, and are full of every-day wisdom. As sententious as Horace, as hilarious as Anacreon, as tender as Theocritus, his poems are as full of felicities as of melodies. His favorite form is that of the gazel, and his collected poems form what is known as the "Divan" of Hafiz—a word equivalent to anthology. Many of them are devoted to love and pleasure, but others are full of lofty moralizings. The following is Herman Bicknell's translation of one of them:

"My soul is as a sacred bird, the highest heaven its nest;
Fretting within the body's bars, it finds on earth no rest.

"When speeding from this dusty heap, this bird of mine shall soar,
'Twill find upon yon lofty gate the nest it had before.

"The Sidrah* shall receive my bird when it has winged its way;
Far on the empyrean's top my falcon's foot shall stay.

"Over the ample fields of earth is fortune's shadow cast,
Where, upon wings and pennons borne, this bird of mine has passed.

* The Sidrah is the tree of Paradise.

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"No spot in the two worlds it owns—above the sphere its goal;
Its body from the quarry is, from No-place is its soul.

"'Tis only in the glorious world my bird its splendor shows;
The rosy bower of Paradise its daily food bestows."

Here is Mr. Emerson's version (from the German) of the same gazel of Hafiz:

"My phœnix long ago secured
His nest in the sky-vault's cope;
In the body's cage immured
He was weary of life's hope.

"Round and round this heap of ashes
Now flies the bird amain,
But in that odorous niche of heaven
Nestles the bird again.

"Once flies he upward, he will perch
On Tuba's golden bough;
His home is on that fruited arch
Which cools the blest below.

"If over this world of ours
His wings my phœnix spread,
How gracious falls on land and sea
The soul-refreshing shade!

"Either world inhabits he,
Sees oft below him planets roll;
His body is all of air compact,
Of Allah's love his soul."

Here is another of Bicknell's translations from Hafiz:

"Zealot, censure not the toper, guileless though thou keep thy soul;
Certain 'tis that sins of others none shall write upon thy scroll.

"Be my deeds or good or evil, look thou to thyself alone;
All men, when their work is ended, reap the harvest they have sown.

"Never of eternal mercy preach that I must yet despair;
Canst thou pierce the veil, and tell me who is ugly, who is fair?

"Every one the friend solicits, be he sober, quaff he wine;
Every place has love its tenant, be it of the mosque, or shrine.

"From the still retreat of virtue not the first am I to roam,
For my father also quitted his eternal Eden home.

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"See this head devout submission; bricks at many a vintner's door;
If my foe these words misconstrue — 'Bricks and head'! — say nothing more.

"Fair though Paradise's garden, deign to my advice to yield;
Here enjoy the shading willow, and the border of the field.

"Lean not on thy store of merits; know'st thou 'gainst thy name for aye
What the Plastic Pen indited on the Unbeginning Day?

"Hafiz, if thou grasp thy beaker when the hour of death is nigh,
From the street where stands the tavern straight they'll bear thee to the sky."

The vivacity of Hafiz is marvelous, and goes far to redeem the monotony of his principal themes. He is as full of life-blood as his beloved grape of wine. He sings:

"Take an example from the roses,
Who live direct on sun and dew;
They never question after Moses,
And why, in heaven's name, should you?"

The odes of Hafiz have been for centuries the delight not only of cultivated Persians, but of the common people. They are repeated everywhere, in schools and universities, in palaces and hovels, in shops and markets. Bicknell thus renders one of them:

"Saki, come! my bowl rekindle with the light of lustrous wine;
Minstrel, chant thy lay! for Fortune smiles upon my heart's design.

"In the goblet's depths reflected, I beheld my Loved one's cheek,
Thou who yet ignor'st the rapture of the wine-cup which I seek.

"Upright fair ones, coy and charming, only for so long shall shine,
Till appears our splendid cypress, moving as the dancing pine.

"He whose soul by love is quickened, never can to death be hurled;
Written is my life immortal in the records of the world."

To the gentle Hafiz may well be applied Emerson's axiom, that the true poet and the true philosopher are one. I borrow two more translations from Bicknell:

"A thousand times be blest wine's ruddy ray,
Which drove the pallor from my cheek away.

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"I reverence the hand that plucked the grape;
Ne'er molder may the foot that pressed its shape.

"Traced on my brow is 'Love'; Fate wrote it there,
To blot what Fate inscribed should no one dare.

"Slight me not, zealot, go thou hence ashamed,
For nought is slight that has by God been framed.

"So live thou here, that when thy life has fled
No one may say of thee, 'This man is dead.'"

"The morning of my future dawns; where have they placed the sun-like bowl?
What time more opportune than this? Haste! with the wine-cup cheer my soul.

"The house is peaceful, Saki kind; the minstrel many a jest doth fling;
'Tis rapture, and the goblet's hour; it is the season of glad spring.

"To raise our spirits when sad we are, to crown mirth's beauty as is due,
Good is the molten ruby's tide with the gold goblet's lustrous hue.

"Charmer and songster wave their hands, drunk rev'lers strike their feet anon;
From wine-adorers' eyes hath sleep by Saki's fascination gone.

"Safe is this spot, a close retreat, for bosom-friends a pleasure-ground;
Victory's hundred gates are oped to him who hath such converse found.

"Nature, the tire-maid, ever brisk, seeing how wine sweet joy bestows,
Hides deftly in the rose's leaves the fragrant essence of the rose.

"Since zealously that Moon has sought to buy the pearls by Hafiz strung,
In Zuhrah's ear at every hour the rebeck's melody has rung."

Persian poetry abounds in expressions of the greatness of the Infinite, like the following:

"What, thou askest, is the heaven, and the round earth, and the sea,
And their dwellers, men and angels, if with God compared they be?

"Heaven and earth, and men and angels, all that anywhere is named,
Matched with Him, lose name and being, and to nothing shrink ashamed.

"Its unnumbered billows rolling, great to thee the ocean seems;
Great the sun, from golden fountains pouring out a flood of beams;

"Yet the faithful, God-enlightened, know another wonder-land,
Where the ocean is a dew-drop, and the sun a grain of sand.

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"In the forest's dark recesses hast thou marked the glow-worm's light,
In a green dell unbeholden, twinkling through the storm and night?

"Once a pilgrim said: 'O gentle star that shinest nightly, say,
Wherefore thou appearest never in the bright and glorious day?'

"Hear what then the gentle glow-worm answered from its mouth of fire:
'In the gloomy forest shine I, but before the sun expire.'"

Sadi stands at the head of the poet-teachers of Persia. A Dervish, a hermit, and a pilgrim, he set forth the vanity of the world, and the true vocation of man, in a series of noble apologues, poems, and epigrams, which have made him almost a world's classic. His "Gulistan," or "Rose-Garden," is in mingled verse and prose; his "Bustan," or "Fruit-Garden," is composed of tales and of moral and political reflections. He died in 1291, at the age of 102. Here are a few maxims from the "Gulistan," as translated by Eastwick:

"When, in transacting business, thou art in doubt, make choice of that side from which the least injury will result.

"Reply not roughly to smooth language, nor
Contend with him who knocks at peace's door."

"Twist not thy mustaches boastful,
Nor with pride thy weak foe scan;
Every bone contains some marrow,
Every garment cloaks a man."

"Affairs succeed by patience, and he that is hasty falleth headlong."

"He who, before he slept or took repose,
Did roses and the jasmine round him fling;
Revolving time has shed his beauty's rose,
While from his ashes now the thorns upspring."

Jami, one of the most masterly of Persian writers, belongs to the fifteenth century. He may be placed at the head of the romantic school of Persian poets, combining exquisite diction and affluent imagination with a high moral aim. These verses are from his chief work, "Yusuf and Zulaikha," translated by R. H. T. Griffith:

"Soon as the place where he dwelt she knew,
With an eager heart to the spot she flew;
Like a soul with no mixture of clay, she beheld
His beauty, which thought never paralleled.

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Ne'er had she seen such a marvel, ne'er
Dreamed of a form so divinely fair.
As she looked on his splendor, she swooned and lay
In a rapturous trance with her senses astray.
She woke to consciousness slowly, and passed
Out of the swoon that had held her fast.
Her lips she opened; she fain would speak,
From that store-house of riches, rare pearls to seek.
'O youth,' she cried, 'from all evil free,
Who made thy beauty so fair to see?
By whom was the sun's own splendor lent,
And the moon, for thy forehead's ornament?
Say in what garden that cypress grew,
And what artist-hand the fair picture drew?
Whose compasses marked thy brow's delicate line?
Who curled in bright clusters those locks of thine?
Who set the young flower in the garden? Who
Fed the tender plant with the splendor of dew?
Where could a master be found to teach
Thy cypress its motion, thy ruby its speech?
Thy locks' fair letters whose pen could trace?
Who read the book of thy moon-bright face?
Who bade thee from nothingness wake and arise?
And opened to light those Narcissus-like eyes;
And that onyx lock in that pearl-casket laid,
Whence the soul of the hearer is strengthened and stayed?
Who hollowed the well in thy soft round chin,
And poured the sweet water of life therein?
Who set the dark mole on thy cheek, and spread
The raven's wing o'er the roses' bed?'

He heard her speech; and from wisdom's spring
Flowed forth the reply to her questioning:
'I am the work of that Maker,' said he,
'From whose ocean one drop is enough for me;
Heaven is but a dot which his pen has made,
And the earth but a bird in his garden displayed.
The sun is a spark of his wisdom's light,
And a bubble the world, of the sea of his might.
From atoms he made us, as mirrors to shine
With the borrowed light of his face divine.
Screened by dark curtains from mortal eye,
On his pure perfection no stain may lie;
Whatever fair to thy sight appears
Is the light of his face when thy vision clears —
Dost thou see the reflection? Then fly to him
To whom faint is that shadow, and cold and dim.
Dost thou shun the light's Author? No, God forbid!
Or dark were thy lot when that reflex is hid.
It will last but a moment, this borrowed ray,

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As the bloom of the rose and her scent decay.
Dost thou seek the eternal, the firm, the true?
Then fix on him ever thy steadfast view.
'Tis this that pierces our hearts with pain,
That fair things are with us, ah! not to remain!'

"The maiden listened as Yusuf replied.
She folded love's carpet and laid it aside.
'I heard thy praises,' 'twas thus she spoke,
'And the flame of love in my heart awoke.
Hither I journeyed thy face to see,
And my head was my foot in the search for thee.
I came, I found thee; I swooned away,
And my life at thy feet I was fain to lay.
But wisdom's pearls thou hast deigned to string,
And pointed the way to the pure light's spring.
Thou hast cut the fine hair with the word of truth,
And repelled the love of mine eager youth.
Thou hast lifted the veil of my hope, and shown
The way to the sun which I never had known.
This truth at last to my heart is plain,
That my love for thee like a dream was vain;
Mine eyes have been touched by the truth's pure ray,
And the dream of folly has passed away.'"

Ferid-eddin-Attar, who lived in the thirteenth century, and was a Sufi philosopher, wrote the "Pend Namah," or "Book of Counsels," a fine moral poem, from which these verses are taken:

"Impartial in his goodness still,
Equal to all is good or ill.

"One lies on Persian silk reclined,
One naked in a frozen wind;
One scarce can count his heaps of ore,
One faints with hunger at the door.

"The dives before his vengeance fly,
By hosts of stars expelled the sky.
And kings who hold the world in thrall,
At his great word, to ruin fall."

Jelalu'ddin Er Rúmí, who died in 1260, stands at the head of the religious or mystic school of Persian poets. His principal work, the "Mesnevi," a long poem full of apologues and allegory, while disfigured by numerous digressions and trivialities, has much thought and frequent splendor of expression. His mystical odes are fairly represented in this specimen:

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"Seeks thy spirit to be gifted
With a deathless life?
Let it seek to be uplifted
O'er earth's storm and strife.

"Spurn its joys — its ties dissever;
Hopes and fears divest;
Thus aspire to live forever —
Be for ever blest!

"Faith and doubt leave far behind thee;
Cease to love or hate;
Let not Time's illusions blind thee;
Thou shalt Time outdate.

"Merge thine individual being
In the Eternal's love;
All this sensual nature fleeing
For pure bliss above."

Among Persian poets who have also made a name as men of science, the palm must be awarded to Omar Kháyyám, of Nashapûr. He was born about the middle of the eleventh century, and his life extended to the year 1123. He devoted himself to mathematics, wrote a treatise on algebra, and was one of the eight learned men appointed by the Sultan Malik Shah to reform the calendar. His astronomical knowledge, always in high repute among the Persians, brought him the title of "King of the Wise"; and, in fact, he was unrivaled in science in his own generation. But the versatility of his genius led him to poetic composition, and he embodied in several hundred *Rubaiyat*, or quatrains, his philosophic creed. Treating the problems of humanity with complete sincerity, and led by the fruit of his knowledge and reflection to regard to-day as the only certainty, he sang of things as they are. Here are some passages from Fitzgerald's translation:

"Ah, my belovèd, fill the cup that clears
To-day of past regret and future fears.
To-morrow! why, to-morrow I may be
Myself with yesterday's seven thousand years.

"Come, fill the cup! and in the fire of spring
Your winter garments of repentance fling!
The bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter, and the bird is on the wing.

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"Whether at Nashapûr or Babylon,
Whether the cup with sweet or bitter run,
The wine of life keeps oozing drop by drop,
The leaves of life keep falling one by one.

"For some we loved, the loveliest and the best,
That from his vintage rolling Time has pressed,
Have drunk their cup a round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

"And all the saints and sages, who discussed
Of the two worlds so learnedly, are thrust
Like foolish prophets forth; their words to scorn
Are scattered, and their mouths are stopped with dust.

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and saint, and heard great argument
About it and about; but evermore
Came out by the same door wherein I went.

"With them the seed of wisdom did I sow,
And with my own hand wrought to make it grow,
And this was all the harvest that I reaped—
'I came like water, and like wind I go.'

"And if the wine you drink, the lips you press,
End in what all begins and ends in, Yes;
Think then you are to-day what yesterday
You were; to-morrow you shall not be less.

"So when the angel of the darker drink
At last shall find you by the river-brink,
And, offering his cup, invite your soul
Forth to your lips to quaff, you shall not shrink.

"For if the soul can fling the dust aside,
And naked on the air of heaven ride,
Wer't not a shame—wer't not a shame for him
In this clay carcass crippled to abide?

"Alas! that spring should vanish with the rose!
That youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close!
The nightingale that in the branches sang,
Ah, whence, and whither flown again, who knows?

"Strange, is it not? that of the myriads who
Before us passed the door of darkness through,
Not one returns to tell us of the road,
Which to discover we must travel too.

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"The revelations of devout and learned
Who rose before us, and as prophets burned,
Are all but stories which, awoke from sleep
They told their fellows, and to sleep returned.

"I sent my soul through the Invisible,
Some letter of that after-life to spell;
And by and by my soul returned to me,
And answered, 'I myself am Heaven and Hell!'"

From these serene and lofty speculations, Omar Kháyyám descends to sing of wine and love, but with a wealth of imagery and a beauty of expression from which later Persian poets, and even Hafiz, have borrowed much.

"Morn's first rays are glimmering,
From the skies the stars are creeping;
Rouse, for shame, the goblet bring,
All too long thou liest sleeping;
Open those Narcissus eyes,
Wake, be happy, and be wise!

. . . . .

"Nothing in this world of ours
Flows as we would have it flow;
What avail, then, careful hours,
Thought and trouble, tears and woe?"

If the honest realism of the Rubáiyát and their rugged utterances of fatalism are often profoundly saddening, let us be mindful that they are but the reflection of the uncertainties that beset the life of man. And if any to whom a clear and dogmatic view of the universe, its wonder and its mystery, has been vouchsafed, should find fault with this early poet of agnosticism, let it not be forgotten that the subtlest and the wisest intellects the world has known have been those who have most modestly disclaimed all knowledge of the Infinite. This poet-astronomer of Khorasan once said to a friend, "Let my tomb be in a spot where the north wind shall scatter roses over it," and his wish was fulfilled.

The Persian tendency to idealism is never more marked than in religious poetry. Says Jelalu'ddin, the great mystic poet of the Sufis, and author of the Mesnevi:

"*O, heart! weak follower of the weak,*
That thou shouldst traverse land and sea,
In this far place that God to seek,
Who long ago had come to thee!"

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A pensive and sweet melancholy pervades much of their verse. Treading upon the graves of kings and the ruins of splendid cities, they sing the vanity of life in strains at once tender and sublime. Says Firdusi:

> "What is glory to man? An illusion, a cheat.
> What did it for Jemschid, the world at his feet?"

And Sir William Jones thus translates an exquisite quatrain from the Persian:

> "On parent knees, a naked, new-born child,
> Weeping thou sat'st while all around thee smiled.
> So live that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
> Calm thou mayst smile, while all around thee weep."

If we, who are dependent upon translations in English, French, and German for our means of judging, find the sweetness and the compass of these Persian poems so admirable, how incomparably finer must they be in the original? Indeed, there is no poetic literature anywhere more picturesque than the Persian. Strikingly national, bearing no trace of European models (for the literature of the West had not penetrated into Persia when it was written), it is as racy of the soil that produced it as the blood of the grape so often sung by Hafiz. The great writers of English and American literature (save only a few marked originals) have been and are still dependent upon classic Greece and Rome for their inspiration and their models. Without desiring to overvalue the poetry of the Persians, it must be conceded that for descriptive power, for ideality, for lofty imagination, and for magnificence of diction, it is worthy of a high place in the world's literature.

AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD.

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THE AGRICULTURAL CRISIS IN ENGLAND.

In an article on "Agricultural Politics in England," in this Review last March, the serious character of the agricultural depression that had long been prevalent in England, and for a shorter period in Scotland, was described. Since then the depression has culminated in a crisis of great severity. The immediate cause of it is the great drop in the price of wheat, followed, as usual, by diminished prices for other grain. These prices were low enough before harvest to render grain-production unremunerative under existing conditions of farming, except on the most fertile soils, and the further fall has been the last straw which breaks the camel's back. For the year 1883 the average price of wheat was 41*s.* 7*d.* per quarter of eight bushels; that of barley was 31*s.* 10*d.*, and that of oats was 21*s.* 5*d.* In 1884 the weekly average price of wheat only once reached 39*s.*, and for the whole year it was 35*s.* 8*d.* After September it was not higher than 32*s.* 4*d.*, and for one week it was as low as 30*s.* 5*d.* These prices are, in great measure, taken from sales by merchants, after the cost of carriage and profits have been added. Large quantities of excellent wheat have been sold by farmers at 28*s.* per quarter. The average price of barley for the whole of 1883 was 31*s.* 10*d.*; for 1884 it was 30*s.* 8*d.* This is not a great drop, and barley is now worth about as much as wheat. Oats averaged 21*s.* 5*d.* for 1883, and 20*s.* 3*d.* for 1884; but after September the weekly average did not reach 20*s.*

The product of last harvest was not by any means so great as to render such prices as have lately prevailed remunerative. As usual, it was greatly overestimated by writers in the newspapers. The wheat crop turned out to be a fair, though not a great one; but almost every other crop that the ordinary farmer grows in England was below average. Barley and oats have both been lower in price than they are now; but wheat never,

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since the value of money was anywhere near its present standard. The lowest weekly average price of wheat during the hundred years preceding 1884 was 35*s.* 6*d.*, the price for the week ending October 11, 1851; and the yearly average has not been below 40*s.* more than twice in the century; in 1835, when it was 39*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1851, when it was 38*s.* 6*d.* The yearly average price of barley during the ninety-four years ending with 1883 was below 32*s.* thirty-one times; that of oats in the same period was below 20*s.* only fourteen times. In the past, the low prices of a single year were commonly followed by high or moderate prices for several years; whereas during the past six years prices have been continuously low. The extremely low price of wool has been another serious blow to the farmers of arable land, by whom sheep are chiefly kept. Even meat, and especially mutton, has been lower in price during the latter half of the past year than it has been for a long period. The bare statement of this general fall in the values of agricultural produce suffices to show that the British farmer is in a very awkward position; but when it is further pointed out that expenditure has increased as income has decreased, the alarming character of his dilemma is obvious. Rents, labor, rates and taxes, and the general cost of living, have all greatly risen during the past thirty years. It is only since the summer that wages have begun to fall. All through the long period of depression, on the principle that "he that is low needs fear no fall," the earnings of farm workmen remained steady up to the time when the great drop in the price of wheat compelled employers to reduce crops and discharge a large proportion of their men. Increased taxation is an evil under which all owners of property labor; but some new burdens have been put upon land, chiefly in relation to education, sanitary provisions, and highways. The cost of living has risen because the standard of living among farmers, as among all other classes of the community, has been advanced.

Dairy farming has paid well, on the whole, during the greater part of the period of agricultural depression, and stock-breeding has paid moderately well also. The prevalence of disease among cattle and sheep has been the chief drawback to the prosperity of pastoral farmers. Rents have risen in the grass districts, and other expenses also; but the increased cost of labor falls with comparative lightness here. It may be asked why, if dairy farming and breeding are profitable, the occupiers of arable land

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do not grow grass and other feeding crops. Since 1870 the area of permanent pasture has increased by 8,581,911 acres, and clovers and rotation grasses by 72,276 acres; while the area under grain and pulse crops has decreased by 1,641,789 acres, that under potatoes by 265,461 acres, that under roots, and other green crops, except clovers and grasses, by 107,814 acres, and that under flax by 127,426 acres. During the same period there has been an increase of 1,663,607 acres in the cultivated area of the kingdom, all of which, together with the balance of decreases over increases of other crops, has been absorbed in pasture. A large proportion of our best grain-growing land is not well fitted for pasture. Then the cost of laying down grass is considerable, and tenants have no protection for capital thus expended, while landlords, as a rule, being chiefly life-owners, are not sufficiently interested in the improvement of their estates to undertake it at much expense. The existing difficulty of letting large areas of arable land, however, is more rapidly than heretofore causing owners to lay down pasture or to encourage their tenants to do so.

For an estimate of the cost of growing wheat and the receipts at the current price, let us take the case of land good enough to grow 32 bushels an acre, which is considerably above the average produce for England, now generally reckoned at 28 bushels. To simplify the calculation, the value of the straw (which few farmers are allowed to sell, however) may be set against the cost of making the manure. The account would then stand about as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rents, tithes, rates, and taxes	2	2	0
Carting and spreading manure		10	0
Plowing, rolling, drilling, and harrowing		15	0
Seed, including preparation		8	0
Keeping rooks off		2	0
Hoeing and weeding		10	0
Harvesting and thatching	1	0	0
Threshing, dressing, and carting, etc		10	0
Wear and tear of implements		3	0
Interest on capital and miscellaneous expenses	1	0	0
	7	0	0
Receipts for 4 qrs. of wheat at 30*s*	6	0	0
Loss per acre	£1	0	0

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Where, as usually, the straw of one crop is used to make manure for the next, instead of being sold, there would be a further loss of at least £1 an acre, as it is very seldom that the fattening of cattle pays for the cost of the roots and hay they consume, and the cost of cake or other purchased feeding stuff and attendance is almost invariably all loss. The loss in our representative instance of wheat-growing, then, may be put at £2 an acre. If wheat were selling at 40*s.* a quarter instead of at 30*s.*, the expenses would be only just met.

The cost of labor will not bear reduction, except so far as that may be accomplished by the improvement of agricultural machinery, as laborers' wages are too low already in the greater part of the country. The only item in which a substantial reduction can be made is rent, which is already greatly reduced in new hirings, but very little where there has been no change of tenancy.

The great rise in rents dates from the period of the Crimean war, which began in 1854. For some time previous to 1853 the prices of grain had been low. In 1849 the average prices of the cereals were as follows: Wheat, 44*s.* 3*d.* a quarter; barley, 27*s.* 9*d.*; oats, 17*s.* 6*d.* For the next three years the prices were these: Wheat, 40*s.* 3*d.*, 38*s.* 6*d.*, and 40*s.* 9*d.*; barley, 23*s.* 6*d.*, 24*s.* 9*d.*, and 28*s.* 6*d.*; oats, 16*s.* 5*d.*, 18*s.* 7*d.*, and 19*s.* 1*d.* Previous to 1849, prices had been much higher, as a rule; and in England, where most of the wheat is grown, rents had fallen. But in 1853 wheat rose to 52*s.* 3*d.*, in 1854 to 72*s.* 5*d.*, and in 1855 to 74*s.* 8*d.*, other grain being proportionately high during the period, which covered the time of the Crimean war. Farmers made fortunes, and there was a great rush of townspeople to the land, so that rents rose rapidly. For the next twelve years prices were satisfactory, and rents continued to rise, reaching the highest point in England in 1877; after which, in that portion of the kingdom, rents as well as prices began to fall, though in Wales and Scotland there was no reduction in rents for another two years. The following tables show the amounts and the increase and decrease of the assessments during the thirty years ending with 1882–3:

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GROSS ANNUAL VALUE OF FARMS, MARKET GARDENS, AND NURSERIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	1852-3.	1862-3.	1872-3.	1876-7.	1879-80.	1882-3.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
England	38,658,782	41,988,685	46,075,893	48,426,933	48,352,389	48,268,992
Wales	2,498,431	2,659,016	2,871,986	3,183,139	3,273,171	
Scotland	5,414,676	6,715,341	7,363,235	7,690,213	7,776,919	7,572,865
Great Britain	46,571,889	51,363,042	56,311,114	59,300,285	59,402,479	55,841,857

INCREASE AND DECREASE IN GROSS ANNUAL VALUE OF FARMS, MARKET GARDENS, AND NURSERIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

	Increase, 1852-3 *to* 1879-80.	*Percentage of increase.*	*Decrease*, 1879-80 *to* 1882-3.	*Percentage of decrease.*
England and Wales	10,468,347	25·4	3,356,568	6·5
Scotland	2,362,243	43·6	204,054	2·6
Great Britain	12,830,590	27·5	3,560,622	6·0

When every reasonable allowance has been made, the fact remains that land in Great Britain is not worth so much to farm now as it was in 1852. A large proportion of the increase in rents has been due to tenants' improvements, confiscated according to law by landlords. Since the spring of 1883 (the latest date to which the income-tax returns take us), there has been a further reduction; but the whole reduction since 1879-80 must be very small, compared with the enormous increase up to that date. Temporary remissions of rent do not show in these figures. Many landlords have remitted ten or twenty, and a few fifty per cent. of the rent due from their tenants during the past two or three years.

It is obvious that the first remedy must be a substantial reduction in the rents of farms arable or chiefly arable. The figures given above show that the reduction has been far from general. The alternative is really only that between reducing rents at once and saving the tenants from ruin, and ruining the tenants first and reducing rents a few years hence.

It may be urged that the present low price of wheat is not likely to be permanent, and there is good reason for that opinion. Amer-

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ican agricultural and financial journals have recently published a great mass of evidence showing that in no part of the United States can wheat be grown at current prices without loss, and that mixed husbandry should take the place of the almost exclusive wheat-growing that is usual in some States and districts. Even in India, where, it is supposed, wheat can be grown more cheaply than anywhere else in the world, the best authorities say that the crop will not pay well enough to induce the ryots to increase its cultivation unless the produce sells at 42*s.* a quarter in London. It is reported that the area under winter wheat in the United States is smaller than that of last year by 25 per cent., while in Great Britain the reduction is about ten per cent., and in most other European countries there is also a diminished acreage. It is almost certain, then, that prices next summer will be higher than they are now, and it is probable that they will not again sink to the present extremely low level for many years to come. But it is also highly probable that at about 40*s.* a quarter in London, or a little more, there will continue to be an abundant supply of wheat, whatever the home production may be; and it has already been shown that British farmers, as a rule, cannot grow wheat with profit at 40*s.* under existing conditions.

There is now a cry — a new one for England or Scotland — for judicial rents, after the Irish fashion. This demand has recently been formally made by the Scottish Farmers' Alliance, an association having six thousand members. The nearest approach to it previously put forward in England or Scotland by any responsible body of men was the proposal of the English Farmers' Alliance to allow an appeal to a court of law to decide whether the rent demanded by a landlord would in reality take from the tenant the value of his improvements, or any portion of that value. This was a very reasonable and fair proposal, though it was scouted by the landlord party at the time when it was made. The English Alliance drafted a Landlord-and-Tenant Bill before the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883 was introduced, and if it had been passed instead of the abortive Government measure, the rent question and other problems would have been in a fair way toward satisfactory settlement.

The leaders of the Scottish Alliance demand the extension to Scotland of the Irish Land Act, with its Land Courts, fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale. Under the Irish Act rents are fixed to some extent in proportion to the ability of ten-

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ants to pay them, and the market value of rent is interfered with, apart from the protection of tenants' improvements. The Scottish reformers defend this interference on the ground that land is a monopoly, and should not, therefore, be treated as a commodity open to free competition. They contend that it is to the public interest to insist on land being let on such terms as will enable skilled tenants to get a fair living upon it, and this, they urge, can only be insured by the fixing of rents by an impartial authority. The answer is that if rents are put down below market value, the only result is to hand over to existing tenants the difference between judicial rents and competition rents, hitherto the property of landlords. In future the full market rents would in reality be paid as heretofore; only the difference between them and judicial rents would be sold by outgoing tenants, under the form of good-will. It would not be easy to prove that tenants are entitled to this transference of property from their landlords to them, or to show how it would be advantageous to the public. If a tenant is to be entitled to sell his share in the value of a farm to the highest bidder, it would be manifestly unjust to prohibit the landlord from selling his share in the same way.

Another proposal made by the Scottish Alliance is reasonable. Under the Scottish system of long leases, usually nineteen years, combined with the now repealed Law of Hypothec (the Scottish counterpart of the English Law of Distress), and in the absence of security for tenants' improvements, rents were artificially enhanced. The exceptional security given to landlords by means of their prior claim over all other creditors of their tenants, enables them to accept the offers of the highest bidders for their farms, often reckless speculators, with very little capital. Thus competition, and accordingly rent, was artificially increased. Then, as tenants had no legal claim to compensation for their improvements, they were compelled either to pay exorbitant rents or to leave their improvements for the landlords. The rents due from the leaseholders were fixed under conditions as to prices and expenses more favorable to farmers than those now prevailing, and it is impossible to pay such rents without loss. The Scottish Alliance, therefore, asks for an Act of Parliament to enable leaseholders to obtain a revaluation of rent, or to escape from their contracts by giving two years' notice, and to entitle them to compensation for their improvements by means of free sale when they quit their holdings.

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Next to rent-reduction, and to a great extent as opposed to it, the most prominent remedy for the agricultural crisis now before the country is a duty on foreign grain, and especially on wheat. Unfortunately, this demand is rapidly spreading among the farmers of England, though it finds small favor in Scotland. It is a great waste of time and energy, which might be devoted to useful purposes, to carry on a hopeless agitation for a return to protection, especially in relation to farm produce. It is not at all likely that the people of this country will ever consent to reverse the policy of free trade which has brought them such unexampled prosperity, and they certainly will never so far reverse it as to allow of taxes on the principal articles of their food. To a great extent, the agitation is being fostered by scheming politicians for party purposes; but now that the great masses of bread-consumers have been enfranchised, there is not the slightest prospect of success for the trickery. The whole benefit of protection to agricultural produce would speedily be absorbed by landlords in the form of rent, as it was in the old times, when agricultural crises were far more frequent and severe than they have been since the Corn Laws were repealed.

With respect to remedies that may be termed practical, as distinguished from legislative remedies, there is hope in the increase of dairy-farming, stock-breeding, meat-production, fruit-growing, and poultry-keeping; but, as already intimated, all new departures involving free enterprise and the expenditure of capital are checked by the want of security for capital and by the absurd restrictions that landlords impose upon cropping and sale of produce. The Agricultural Holdings Act, passed ostensibly to give security to tenants' improvements, so far as it has been tested, has proved a failure. In every case tried under it the tenant has made claims for various improvements, the landlord has made counter-claims for deterioration and dilapidation, the arbitrator has about split the difference between the contending parties, and each has had to pay his own costs. The net result has been a transfer of money from the pockets of landlords and tenants to the pockets of valuers and lawyers. This is precisely what happened in the case of the Irish Land Act of 1870, which proved so complete a failure that further legislation was soon seen to be necessary.

Thus it is that any discussion of what are called practical remedies for agricultural depression inevitably leads up to those legislative remedies that are essential and fundamental prelimi-

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naries to any extensive changes in our system of farming. Pharaoh was not more unreasonable when he commanded the Children of Israel to make bricks without straw than are those who tell tenant-farmers to make silos, plant orchards, make market-gardens and glass-houses, or lay down permanent pasture where it is needed, without security for capital invested in improvements and freedom to use it to the best advantage. We have in Great Britain the best farmers in the world, and it is only because they have been kept in leading-strings that they are not the most enterprising farmers in the world, and the most ready to adapt themselves to new circumstances. Give them security and freedom, and they will keep the agriculture of this country in its proper position, at the head of the agriculture of the world. Without these advantages, the agriculture of Great Britain must inevitably sink to insignificance.

It is a discredit to the intelligence of landlords to compel a tenant to have straw worth only 12*s.* 6*d.* a ton as manure stamped down, when it is worth 50*s.* to 60*s.* in the market; or to feed clover hay, when it is worth £7 a ton; or mangel-wurtzels, when they sell at 30*s.* a ton; yet a large majority of the tenants of Great Britain are tied down by such ridiculous regulations. In agriculture, as in any other pursuit, it is essential to prosperity that the man in business should have complete control over that business, and it is usually best that he should have only himself to rely on. Our landlord-and-tenant system is a partnership in which one partner is constantly waiting for the other to do something which is to the interest of neither. As a rule, all that the landlord spends he gives away to the heir to his estate, at the expense of his other children or relatives; and a great deal of what the tenant spends he presents to his landlord. The habit of waiting for the landlord to do what is needed to make a farm pay, relying upon him as a kind of special Providence, has done much to ruin the enterprise and independence of the British farmer. The only tolerable condition of the landlord-and-tenant system is one in which the landlord is a sleeping partner, finding capital for the land and perhaps for the buildings, and taking rent, but without any power to control the conduct of the business. This has been pretty well effected in Ireland, and has done good there; but it would be much more effective in Great Britain.

It may be that the land-tenure problem in this country will ultimately be solved by the adoption of a system of occupying-

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ownership, as in Prussia and other parts of the German Empire, or by the nationalization of the land. But the main thing to do is to make it to the interest of one man, and that man the occupier of the farm, to do his best by the land, by giving him complete security and perfect freedom, under reasonable liabilities. Then capital in abundance will flow to farming; capital and energy will be concentrated, instead of being dissipated as they now are; and enterprise will branch out in a manner hitherto unknown to agriculture, which is still in its infancy, in spite of its great age. It is absurd to suppose that land will go out of cultivation in a country well fitted to grow the various crops of the farm, the orchard, and the market-garden, and peculiarly suited to stock breeding and fattening, as well as to the production of milk, butter, and cheese, and possessing the best markets in the world for these kinds of produce, if the cultivators of the soil have only a fair chance of holding their own against foreign competition.

Other changes are needed besides those already alluded to, but these can only be briefly mentioned. The Law of Distress must be abolished, as its rent-raising incidence has not been touched by the tinkering it has undergone. Railway charges for conveyance of agricultural produce must be made equitable. Extraordinary tithes on hop and fruit land must be abolished, and ordinary tithes must be paid directly by landlords until they have been nationalized and the proceeds have been applied partly, let us hope, to the expenses of education and other local burdens. Then we must have cattle disease stamped out and kept from being introduced from foreign sources. Lastly, rates should be divided between landlord and tenant, so that new and increased burdens will no longer be borne entirely by the latter until the next adjustment of rent.

In conclusion, it appears desirable to point out to the people of the United States the warning they may well derive from the great disaster that has overtaken British agriculture. It is reported that the landlord-and-tenant system is extending in America, and that it is encouraged by some of the journals connected with agriculture. The best advice that can be given to the American people upon this point is that they should avoid that system as they would shrink from a pestilence. It is gratifying to observe the efforts now being made by some American politicians to prevent the acquisition of great estates

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by aliens. Too many British landlords, and other capitalists intending to become landlords, have already acquired vast tracts of land in the United States; and, glad as the people of this country would be to get rid of their landlords, they are not so cruel as to desire to inflict them upon the people of America. There is a crisis just now among the farmers of the United States; but it will soon pass away, because they have security and freedom to use their capital and direct their enterprise as their judgment dictates. The farmers of the Eastern States at first felt the competition of their Western rivals far more severely than our farmers have felt it; but they speedily recovered from its effects by altering their system of husbandry to meet the circumstances of the times. If they had been fettered tenants instead of free farmers, they would have been ruined.

WILLIAM E. BEAR.

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HOW TO REFORM ENGLISH SPELLING.

AMONG the questions current in the sphere of English studies is that of English orthography. By reason of its close connection with orthoepy, and from the extremely composite structure of our language, the question is one of no little difficulty, and should elicit the most patient attention of English students. While free to confess that we are among the advocates of this reform, it will be our aim to give due weight to all valid objections, and thus avoid those extreme deliverances by reason of which the cause of English spelling has been made to suffer.

"In every written language," says Müller, "a reform of spelling is sooner or later inevitable." To this may be added the vigorous language of Whitney: "Of all spellings in the world, the English is the most absurd." It would follow from these high authorities that a reform of English orthography is especially inevitable and desirable. If inquiry be made as to the more particular reason of this need, the answer is apparent and vital to the discussion before us. It is found in the principle that in all languages the relation of sounds to signs should be close and uniformly correspondent. As far as possible, they should answer to each other at every successive point of structure. When such a principle as this is applied in English, it is seen that the proportion of sounds to signs is so unequal, and their adjustment so irregular, that the relation is fortuitous rather than philosophic. There is no fixed law on which a permanent orthographic system can be founded.

The general linguistic principle, already stated, may be thus specified: Every sound must be represented by a distinct sign. No sound must be represented by more than one sign. Applying these criteria to the existing English alphabet as related to English spelling, it is seen that in each of them there is striking irregularity and a consequent call for revision. Our alphabet is

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made up of forty-three sounds, while having but twenty-six signs. Strictly speaking, it has but twenty-three signs. Indeed, the absolutely fixed letters of our alphabet—letters true alike to eye and ear—have been reduced by some philologists to eight. Here, at the outset, is great disproportion. The same sign is obliged to do double duty, and often more than that, in its representation of different sounds, *e. g.*:

h*ea*d,	r*ou*gh,	h*ei*ght,
s*ea*t,	pl*ou*gh,	sl*ei*gh.
	thr*ou*gh,	

Still further, the cases are numberless where the second criterion is violated, and many different signs are used to represent the same sound. There is no point within the area of English spelling where the confusion is worse confounded than here. In such words as fl*u*te, d*eu*ce, n*ew*s, t*our*, sl*ui*ce, there are seen to be for the same sound no fewer than five distinct signs where the theory requires but one, and where with each change of sign the complexity is increased. In the present system there is no assignable limit to such variations, and each man becomes, in a sense, his own law and guide.

Enough has been said to show that, whatever the reform of our spelling may be, there is an urgent need of some kind of revision. Our English orthography could not be much more unsettled and misleading than it is. Almost any change would be a change for the better; and, if we judge aright, the present era is propitious for the serious consideration of the best methods of reform. Granted that the reform is desirable; the special question is, Is it feasible? At this point hosts of investigators arise, each with his special theory and procedure. It is here that the discussion must turn, and enlightenment is needed.

It is not our purpose to give in detail the various phonic, pictorial, and phonetic systems that have been proposed as a solution of the problem in question, or to show in what particulars such men as Pitman and Leigh differ with one another. The special need, from the first, has been greater uniformity of method. There has been less danger from the absence of interest on the part of scholars and the people than from the wild variety of views among those who have been one as to the urgent need and final purpose of reform. Some one definite and feasible scheme must be offered to the judgment of the people. Up to a recent period no such unanimity of plan existed.

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Opinion has varied, for example, between the minimum number of signs, at thirty-six, and the maximum number, at forty-four. Such a difference is too wide to commend itself to critical or even to common minds. As Professor Lounsbury expresses it: "When authority enough of the whole body of educated men can be collected to consent to the introduction of a reformed orthography, its triumph will have been achieved." These diversities of view have been fast disappearing, and common ground may now be said to have been reached.

At a recent meeting of the English Spelling Reform Association, in London, this unifying of plans was the chief topic of discussion. Sharp distinctions were made for the first time between essential and non-essential conditions. Among the twenty-seven schemes proposed, a severe eliminating process selected seven as test examples of feasible plans. In order still further to show the necessity of unity, the essential conditions of the seven methods were reduced to two. At this point unity appears in alphabetical systems, and light breaks over the entire province of reform. The one method of reform proposed may be termed the Phonetic or Ideal, as distinct from the present Historical or Anti-Phonetic System. It is that method recently adopted in joint action by the Philological Society of England and the American Philological Association. It expresses the latest and best result of the reform movement in England and America, and is the only method to which this paper refers. Much of the random discussion of the day on spelling reform seems to be conducted in utter ignorance of this method proposed to us by the two most distinguished philological bodies of the English world. This method is based on the exact correspondence of sounds and signs. The Phonetic alphabet adopted by the Spelling Reform Association, in Baltimore, in 1877, presents it in feasible form. Its principles are:

1. There are eighteen Roman letters that commonly represent in English nearly the same elementary sounds that they represented in Latin: *a* (f*a*ther), b, c (k, g), d, e (m*e*t), f, g (*g*o), h, i (p*i*ck), l, m, n, o (*g*o), p, r, s (*s*o), t, u (f*u*ll).

2. The consonant sounds represented in Latin by *i* and *u* are now represented by *y* and *w*, and the sounds corresponding to *f* and *s* are now represented by *v* and *z*.

3. There are three short vowels unknown to the early Romans, which are without proper representatives in English, those in f*a*t, n*o*t, b*u*t.

4. There are five elementary consonants represented by digraphs — *th* (*th*in), *th*=*dh* (*th*en), *sh* (*sh*e), *zh* (a*z*ure), *ng* (sing), also, *ch* (*ch*urch), *g* (*j*).

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It seems best to follow the Latin in the use of a single sign for a short vowel and its long sound, distinguishing them, when necessary, by a diacritical mark. The three vowels in *fat*, *not*, *but*, need new letters, and for these it is recommended to try some modification of these vowels. For the consonants represented by digraphs (th, etc.), new letters are desirable but not essential. With this alphabet, as Professor March says, "the English language can be spelled according to its new sounds." Professor Scott, of New York, writes:

"After an examination of several hundred proposed alphabets,— good, bad, indifferent, and dreadful,— I am prepared to declare this alphabet in all respects the simplest, most accurate, and least revolutionary of all systems founded on the Roman alphabet."

It is essential to understand that this proposed method is meant to be gradual in its application. There are many, indeed, who will never advocate a change of the present system of spelling, simply because it is called historical and has the sanction of age. But even to those who are less conservative and are open to conviction, this method is commended only for gradual application. While in the schools the alphabet itself should be adopted and used, the wiser procedure among the people is that of a reserved progress ever looking toward final and full application. The alphabet itself has been prepared on this principle of wise concession, as Whitney in his report (1876) clearly intimates. The gradual manner in which this method is to be applied by the people may well be illustrated in noting the different stages that have been marked out, leading us from the simplest beginnings to the complete use of the phonetic alphabet. Thus:

1. Use simplified forms in standard dictionaries — program, favor, etc.
2. Use the two words — tho, thru.
3. Use the ten words — tho, thru, gard, catalog, ar, giv, liv, hav, definit, wisht.
4. Use the five rules:
   - *a.* Omit *a* from the digraf *ea* when pronounced as *e* short — hed, helth, etc.
   - *b.* Omit silent final *e* after a short vowel — hav, giv, etc.
   - *c.* Write *f* for *ph* in such words as fantom, alfabet, etc.
   - *d.* When a word ends with a double letter omit the last — clif, etc.
   - *e.* Change *ed* final to *t* where it has the *t* sound — lasht, fixt, etc.
5. Use the joint rules for amended spellings.

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These rules are twenty-four in number, and may be said to prepare the way for the adoption of the perfected system as based on the phonetic alphabet. They are termed by those who framed them "the basis of a scheme of partial reform." Certainly they have greatly erred who have supposed that the proposed reform of English spelling runs abruptly and violently athwart all that has traditionally existed. The following are substantially the joint rules:

1. Drop silent *e* when phonetically useless — bronz, engin, etc.
2. Drop *a* from *ea* having the sound of *e* — fether, etc.
3. For beauty, use the old beuty.
4. Drop *o* from *eo* having the sound of *e* — lepard, etc.
5. Drop *i* in parliament.
6. For *o* having the sound of *u* in but, write *u* — abuv, sum, etc.
7. Drop *o* from *ou* having the sound of u — nurish, etc.
8. Drop silent *u* after *g* before *a*, and in native English words — gard, gest.
9. Drop final *ue* in catalog, etc.
10. Spell rhyme, rime.
11. Double consonants may be simplified — od, eb, etc.
12. Drop silent *b* in bom, det, lim, etc.
13. Change *c* back to *s* in sinder, pens, etc.
14. Drop the *h* of *ch* in coler, scool, etc.
15. Change *d* and *ed* final to *t* when so pronounced — erost, etc. Not so when the *e* affects the preceding sound — chafed, etc.
16. Drop *g* in fein, etc.
17. Drop *h* in gost, etc.
18. Drop *l* in could — coud.
19. Drop *p* in receipt — receit.
20. Drop *s* in aisle — aile, etc.
21. Drop *c* in scent — sent.
22. Drop *t* in catch, etc.
23. Drop *w* in whole — hole.
24. Write *f* for *ph* — filosofy, etc.

In these five collections of rules for gradual spelling reform, it will be noted that only such changes are advised as are within reach of every one at all desirous to simplify his orthography. No new letters are needed for the reader, and no new types for the printer. It is all feasible, and if adopted up to this limit would vastly improve our spelling.

Omitting many of the minor considerations, attention will be directed to two or three of the more important positions held by those who have discussed the question on either side. The economical argument has reference to the saving of time, labor,

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and expense, as affecting the author, printer, publisher, teacher, learner, and reader. In the memorial presented to Congress by the American Philological Association (1878) in behalf of this reform, the advantage of economy is the first one urged. To the same effect Müller, in the "Fortnightly Review," says: "Behind these reformers there is a motive power which has been hardly taken into account. I mean the misery endured by millions of children at school, who might learn in one year what they now require four or five years to learn." Professor March has taken special pains to enlighten the public on this practical view of the question. The law of the present era is that of economy. It applies in language and literature as well as in trade. Other things being equal, that is the best method which is the most direct and practical. The reform of English spelling stands on this basis. It insists upon retaining only that part of the word which is essential to it as it strikes the ear. It presses this principle with special emphasis at present in that the bounds of knowledge are so widening, and the demands upon the learner so increasing, that not a needless hour should be given to the mastery of the elements of speech. No substantial reply has as yet been made to this argument, nothing to disprove the fact that this immense loss of means and energy is mainly due to the existing system of orthography. Archbishop Trench, who stands almost alone in England as a distinguished advocate of the present spelling, contents himself with the assertion that this saving is exaggerated; that the gains are more apparent than real, and are offset by corresponding losses, such as that of discrimination of words meaning differently and yet pronounced alike—*rain*, *reign*, *rein*. Of these assertions, the last only has any validity as an argument, and it has been fully answered by Müller and others. If in the rapidity of oral speech these words of similar sound are accurately distinguished in meaning, such accuracy would be even greater as to the written word on the page before the eye and interpreted by the context. If, despite this, any difficulty of distinction should arise, it is easily removed by a resort to synonymous terms. This argument from economy still holds, nor is it to be interpreted as a merely mercenary one for selfish ends. The reduction of cost is but trifling compared with the husbandry of time and effort that it secures. Economy in this direction means enlarged personal power; it means the more rapid and health-

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ful growth of English civilization, and through that agency the more speedy moral conquest of the world.

In the present so-called system there is, as we have seen, no class of principles so fixed and so uniformly applicable that they can be accepted as safe and so applied. Hence the enormous waste indicated. Hence the startling statistics on this subject in English-speaking countries. Dr. Morell says that of 1972 failures in the Civil-service examinations in England, 1866 were in spelling. It has been certified that twenty-five per cent. of the teachers in State schools are deficient in this particular. Mr. Jones, of Liverpool, in his report on national education, confirms these statements. If we descend from the educated to the illiterate, the facts are all the more suggestive.

It is just here that the special difficulty of English to foreigners is apparent. The more intelligent among them tell us, and justly, that there is no logic or philosophy in our language as at present spelled, no reliable code of laws by which the learner may be guided. No sooner is the pupil called to apply one principle than he is obliged to ignore it in the application of another, and so on through an endless series of contradictions. Müller sees but one advantage in all this, as he sarcastically remarks: "A child accustomed to believe that *though* is *tho* and that *through* is *throo*, would afterward believe anything." He traces English orthodoxy to this source, the instant acceptance of the mysterious. President White, of Cornell, is therefore right in calling our system of spelling "the most illogical the world has ever seen." There is no sense or reason in it to win the confidence of thinking men. Each one is his own guide. It is an open question, whether incorrect spelling should be regarded as discreditable. In the average class of an American college, there is but a very small proportion of accurate spellers. Here is one of the strongest arguments for the reform as proposed, and one not as yet answered. The system offered is consistent and applicable, based on well-established phonetic principles, and, with few exceptions, it is the one system that unifies the alphabet by the coördination of signs and sounds. By this it is not meant that the phonetic alphabet secures an absolute agreement of the written and the spoken. This would be impossible; the human voice is greater in variety than any written alphabet can be. But these differences can be reduced to a minimum. The present system ignores any such attempt. The proposed method

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attempts it, and substantially succeeds. When Trench declares that phonetic spelling is impossible because it requires "a reconstruction of the alphabet," he has in mind a complete and faultless reconstruction. No one contends for this. Though no system of spelling can fully adjust sound to sign, the phonetic system is the most consistent in that it approximately secures it. The reform is rational as well as economic. Among opposing arguments there are two deserving of notice.

First. The proposed system impairs the historical and etymological characters of the language. This is a favorite argument with Trench. The reader will find it fully met by Müller in the "Fortnightly Review." The substance of the refutation is this: That it is simply begging the question to call the present system of spelling historical and etymological, to the exclusion of other systems. Every scholar of First and Middle English knows that the present system is comparatively modern or unhistorical; that, if we were to spell with strict historical accuracy, we would spell in the line of the system proposed, as we find it in the writings of Orm, Chaucer, and Spenser. The fact is, phonetic spelling in some form is nothing new in English. The etymological argument is closely connected with this, and is equally misleading. It proceeds on the assumption — proved by Hadley and others to be false — that our present spelling is out and out etymological. Here again a simple reference to early English is sufficient. In 1880 the Philological Society of England appointed a committee to present a list of words "in which etymology or history is obscured or falsified by the present spelling." Dr. Murray, of London, finds thousands of such. In our words, lord, woman, orchard, and righteousness, what guide is there as to etymology, to the first English forms — hlâford, wîfman, ort-geard, and riht-wîsnes? The argument proves too much. Even conceding the principle, it may be said on behalf of the proposed system that all necessary etymological knowledge could be gained by the scholar through study and reference, while to the common classes it would be a matter neither of necessity nor of interest. In a word, the argument turns upon itself. The phonetic method is the more historical of the two, and obliges the learner to return at once to the oldest forms of the language, in the days of Alfred and Layamen, to discern the real sources and historical sequence of present English speech.

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Second. The more formidable objection is based on the uncertainty of English pronunciation. Trench, in his last edition of "English, Past and Present," renews the attack from this quarter. It runs as follows: When we are told to spell as we pronounce, it is asked, How do we pronounce? "It is an assumption," he says, "that all men pronounce all words alike, or agree as to the sound." This is correct. As a fact, men do not pronounce alike. Pronunciation itself is changing, and there is no stable basis. As to this objection, it is well not to be too dogmatic. The present system of spelling involves this same difficulty — in lesser measure, indeed, but still involves it. It includes it in so far as to make this argument comparatively invalid as adduced against the reform. Under any system of spelling in a spoken language, the element of change will be potent, and nowhere more so than in the departments of orthoepy and orthography. As Müller strongly insists, the very reason of the present variety of pronunciation, and consequent variety of spelling, is found in the looseness of the existing system, where the same sounds can be represented in so many different ways. He argues, justly, that if from childhood we were trained to the use of a consistent phonetic alphabet, these present variations would not exist, because they could not. Wiclif would not be spelled twenty-eight ways, but one way. The fact that with the same phonetic alphabet the different advocates of reform will write and spell the same word differently, is an anomaly due to the traditional looseness in which they have been trained; to the necessary imperfections of any ideal system, and often to the total depravity of those who will do as they please. As Müller asks, "What Scotchman would admit that his pronunciation was faulty?" It is pertinent here to add, alike by way of refutation and positive argument, that the general application of the phonetic method would do more than any other one thing to coördinate pronunciation and orthography.

The present status of the reform is substantially encouraging. As to the active agencies at work, the reader may be referred to the "Circular (No. 7, 1880) of the Bureau of Education at Washington," officially sanctioning the movement; to the successive reports issued by the English and American associations; to the increasing number of State, national, and international conventions in its behalf; to definite local legisla-

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tion in England and in America—as in Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania; to the favorable attitude of the press in many parts of the country; to the spirit of inquiry as to its feasibility; and to its actual introduction into some of the elementary schools. As to the literature it has evoked, this itself would constitute a library. Eminent scholars have written treatises and prepared manuals, while valuable articles may be found in nearly all of the leading periodicals of this nation and England.

Most of the highest English and American names in philology have expressed themselves in favor of spelling-reform as defined in the present paper. This fact in itself raises the question at once to the level of a great philological problem. Nothing could be more false than to call it the scheme of a few interested specialists for speculative ends. In fact, the sanctions are so high and numerous that, if adduced in any other scheme of reform, they would be accepted as final, and warrant a fair trial. Here are such names as Skeat, Sayce, Müller, Sweet, Morris, March, Child, Whitney, Angus, and Earle. To such a catalogue might be added the names of scores of others, such as Harkness, Lounsbury, Garnett, Price, Scott, Corson, Harrison, White, Seelye, and Carter. Such a cause need not go begging, but justifies a greater boldness than has yet been exhibited in its defense and propagation. These exponents believe the reform to be desirable. They deem it feasible, and have submitted a definite method, first in its full form, as based on a phonetic alphabet, and then in a modified form, as based on a collection of amended spellings. At this point their function rests. The intelligent public, in unison with the great body of educators, are asked to accept and apply it in a way sufficiently honest, and for a time sufficiently long, to test its asserted feasibility. The scheme is based on popular approval and general usage as the condition of its success. This desire to coöperate is growing, and is the most hopeful thing in the present outlook.

The main province of the reform must be in the primary schools. It is not expected that the new method is to be wholly *substituted for the old by the great body of our adult population*. All that is asked of such is, that they give the proposal candid discussion; that, as far as possible, they apply the modified system, and do nothing to impede those who are aiming to

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insure its full application in our common educational system. It is only in the schools that the full method can be tested by those who have not first to unlearn an old system, but who come to it without bias or bigotry. Hence, the wisdom of such manuals for schools as those of Dr. Vickroy and Professor March. The child must be met as he begins to learn the English alphabet in order to read and spell. On this method it would require but a few generations to displace the old by the new. So as to journalism, much may be done. The Adams & Lyon Publishing Company, of Chicago, have done good service here. The Missouri Press Association at Sedalia (May, 1880) set an example to all editorial bodies when they resolved that they "heartily sympathized with the earnest efforts to simplify English spelling," and would "aid and encourage one another to begin and make such gradual changes as are recommended." The "Home Journal" of New York has seconded this action, while our best journals have admitted more or less of change by way of trial. A corporate press association, as suggested by the "Utica Herald," would be an invaluable auxiliary. It is interesting to note, in reference to our two standard dictionaries, that Noah Webster was one of the pioneer reformers, and that in the successive editions of Worcester and Webster alike, amended spellings are more and more numerous. It is also gratifying that Dr. Murray, of London, the editor-in-chief of the great Historical English Dictionary, now preparing, is one of the vice-presidents of the Reform Association. Recent American critics have called attention to the need of a journal of popular philology. The prospectus of such a journal lies before us, and the list of its projectors corresponds very suggestively with the list of spelling reformers, while among its statements we read: "It is proposed to adopt as the standard of orthography that recommended by the Philological Associations of England and America."

The reform of our spelling is a necessity. The method proposed is a vast improvement upon the present one, and is practicable. The weight of scholarly authority is on its side. Its outlook is promising. As a gradual and general reform it finds its present need to be actual introduction in schools, partial use by journalists, and the intelligent study of the people. Some essential reform of English spelling is sure to come, and possibly within the experience of those now living. The greatest Englishman of the present century, Mr. Gladstone, tells us that if he

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were younger he would lead the movement, while England's Poet Laureate is on its official boards. It is an eminently economical and rational movement, projected partly by the very necessities of language, and partly by popular needs. No reform of modern times can present so goodly a list of advocates, and while by no means unattended with objections and difficulties, it is so substantially valid and judicious as to be safely commended to the schools for immediate adoption, and to all English-speaking people for intelligent discussion and approval.

T. W. HUNT.

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THE ARMY OF THE DISCONTENTED.

In January, 1884, the following paragraph appeared in one of the daily papers:

"It is estimated that at the present time one million and a half of men are out of employment in the United States; it is safe to predict that, if opportunities were offered to these men to drop into useful occupations, a large majority would not avail themselves of them."

Since then, the number of the unemployed must have increased, for nearly every day we read such items as this:

"The worsted mill connected with the Bigelow Carpet Mills, which employs about three hundred hands, shut down this morning for three weeks. This, with the five per cent. cut down at the Lancaster Gingham Mills, where two thousand five hundred hands are employed, which also went into effect this morning, makes Clinton's business outlook decidedly poor."

In the two years ending December 1, 1884, those employed in and around the coal-mines worked but little over half-time, and for the length of time that they were not at work they must be counted in with the unemployed. If the figures above quoted were correct in January, it is safe to assume that at present the number will not fall short of 2,000,000. The census of 1880 shows that the number of persons engaged in gainful occupations was 17,392,099. Of this number 3,837,112 were engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining pursuits, while 5,183,099 gained a livelihood as laborers (agricultural and otherwise). Thus in 1880 we had in the United States, between laborers, mechanics, miners, and those engaged in manufacturing establishments, 9,020,211 persons.

From a personal experience, I am led to believe that the greater portion of those who are now out of employment comes from occupations that go to make up the 9,020,211. It is safe to

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assume that the 2,000,000 unemployed persons are discontented with their lot; and not only are they discontented, but those who labor at the same occupations that they previously followed have every reason to be dissatisfied also. With so many men and women seeking employment, the tendency of wages must be downward. It does not follow, because men are out of employment, that such articles as their fellow-workmen produce should decrease in value, or that the profit on the manufactured article, accruing to the owners of the establishments in which they work, should be any less; on the contrary, the expectation is that diminished production will increase the price of the manufactured article, or at least prevent its depreciation when thrown on the market. Notwithstanding the reduction in the expenses of the mining company, we pay the same price for coal that we paid a year ago. It matters not that the carpet mills "suspend three hundred hands," the price of carpeting remains unchanged. The gingham mills and the cotton and woolen mills may reduce the wages of employés five and ten per cent., yet the price of gingham and calico continues as before. Whether the manufactured article commands the same price in the market or not, the employer, knowing that he can secure an abundance of help, reduces the wages of his employés. Those who are out of employment are no longer producers, and they certainly are not consumers to any increased extent. The wages of those employed having been reduced, their powers of consumption are limited. The merchant whose shelves are stocked with goods becomes discontented when he views the rows of men and women that stand in front of his store, peering with hungry-looking eyes through his windows at the goods so temptingly held to view, willing and anxious to buy these goods, but deprived of the means, through enforced idleness or inadequate compensation for services rendered. Ask the business man what the cause of the depression is, and he, parrot-like, will say, "It is all regulated by the law of supply and demand." A moment's reflection would show him that the law of supply and demand, like all other laws, is open to different constructions. On his shelves is a supply of goods; outside of his window is a demand for these goods—a demand that is at all times equal to the supply. Why is it that the demand does not reach forth and secure the supply? The answer comes, "Because the medium of exchange is lacking; because labor is too

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cheap and plenty, and money too dear and scarce." That a deep-rooted feeling of discontent pervades the masses, none can deny; that there is a just cause for it, must be admitted. The old cry, "These agitators are stirring up a feeling of dissatisfaction among workingmen, and they should be suppressed," will not avail now. Every thinking person knows that the agitator did not throw two millions of men out of employment. The man that reads such paragraphs as this will not lay the blame of it at the door of the agitator·

"Mrs. Sarah Jane Geary, an Englishwoman, residing in this city, committed suicide a few days since. Her husband is a miner, and, owing to the frequent suspensions of business in the mines during the past winter, his meager earnings were insufficient to support the family. The fact preyed on Mrs. Geary's mind, and she resolved to end her life, that her children might receive her share of the food, otherwise they would go hungry."

The Cincinnati riots, that occurred less than one year ago, were not brought about through the agitation of the labor leader. If the demand for "the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice" had been listened to when first made by the Knights of Labor, Cincinnati would have been spared sorrow and disgrace, and her "prominent citizens" would not have had to lead a mob in order to open the eyes of the country to the manner in which her courts were throttled and virtue and truth were trampled upon in her temples of justice. That the army of the discontented is gathering fresh recruits day by day is true, and if this army should become so large that, driven to desperation, it should one day arise in its wrath and grapple with its real or fancied enemy, the responsibility for that act must fall upon the heads of those who could have averted the blow, but who turned a deaf ear to the supplication of suffering humanity, and gave the screw of oppression an extra turn because they had the power. Workingmen's organizations are doing all they can to avert the blow; but if that day dawns upon us, it will be chargeable directly to men who taunt others with unequal earnings and distort the truth as was done in an interview recently had with Mr. William H. Vanderbilt:

"One of the troubles in this country just now is the relation of wages to the cost of production. A skilled workman in almost every branch of business gets every day money enough to buy a barrel of flour. I don't refer to

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ordinary laborers, but to men skilled at their trades. The man who makes the article receives as much wages in many instances as the article is worth when it is finished. This is not exactly fair, in my opinion, and must be adjusted. Until wages bear a truer relation to production, there can be no real prosperity in the country."

I have seen no denial of the above, and take it for granted that it is a correct report. Mr. Vanderbilt starts out well enough, but he is in error when he says that "a skilled workman in almost every branch of business gets money enough every day to buy a barrel of flour." I know of no business in the United States in which a skilled mechanic, working regularly at his trade day by day, gets money enough for his day's labor to buy a barrel of flour. That they earn the price of a barrel of flour, I do not deny; but that they get it, is not true. It may be that Mr. Vanderbilt refers to superintendents, foremen, or contractors, for they are the only ones that receive such wages. The average wage paid to the skilled mechanic will not exceed $2.50 a day. I know of but few branches of business in which men can command that price. The wages of skilled mechanics are on the decline, while the price of flour remains unchanged, from $5.75 to $8.50 a barrel. If Mr. Vanderbilt will demonstrate how one can purchase a six-dollar barrel of flour for two dollars and a half, he will have solved a very difficult problem for the workingman. It is not the labor of the skilled mechanic alone that must be taken into account in computing the cost of the manufactured article; the average price paid to labor in the establishment should be the standard, if a standard of wages is required. An examination of the last census report shows that the number of manufacturing establishments in the United States was 253,852, and the amount of capital invested was $2,790,272,606; the average number of hands employed was 2,732,595; the value of the raw material was $3,396,823,549; while the product of the manufactured articles was $5,369,579,191. Deduct the sum paid for the raw material from the product of the manufactured article, and we have $1,972,745,642. This sum represents the difference between the price paid for the article when in a raw state and that received for it when manufactured. It is evident that something more than interest on money invested was required to give this additional value to the material. That something was the labor of the hands referred to. The total amount paid in wages to the employés of

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these establishments was $947,953,795. Deducting this amount from the $1,972,745,642, we have left $1,024,791,847. This sum goes to the manufacturer. It is estimated by some that the amount paid for raw material includes taxes, insurance, salaries, and repairs; but, in the absence of reliable statistics, I am not prepared to prove that such is the case. By adding the sum paid for raw material to the amount of capital invested, we have $6,187,096,155, the total investment of the manufacturer. From this sum we have, pitted against every one of the 2,732,595 employés, a fraction over $2264. While the average yearly earnings of each employé were $720, he received in wages but a fraction over $346, or a trifle over one dollar a day for every working day in the year. Subtract the wages of the employé from his earnings, and we have left $374. The employé receives an average of $346 a year for his labor, while his employer receives $374 on an investment of $2264. Instead of basing the cost of the manufactured article on the wages given to the highest-priced skilled mechanic, it should be based on the average wage paid to the men in these establishments. It thus appears that a barrel of flour costs several days' labor.

It may be said that many of the employés of the manufacturing establishments are minors, and consequently cannot perform as great an amount of labor as a corresponding number of adults. That argument might have had some weight years ago, but now it is fruitless. The age and strength of the workman are no longer regarded as factors in the field of production; it is the skill of the operator in managing a labor-saving machine that is held to be the most essential. It is true that a child can operate a machine as successfully as a man, and that muscle is no longer a requisite in accomplishing results. It is also true that less time is required to perform a given amount of labor than heretofore. This being the case, the plea for shorter hours is not unreasonable. Benjamin Franklin said, one hundred years ago, that "if the workers of the world would labor but four hours each day, they could produce enough in that length of time to supply the wants of mankind." While it is true that the means of supplying the wants of man have increased as if by magic, yet man has acquired no new wants; he is merely enabled to gratify his needs more fully. If it were true in Franklin's time that four hours of toil each day would prove sufficient to minister to the necessities of the world's inhabitants,

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the argument certainly has lost none of its force since then. At that time it took the sailing-vessel three months to cross the ocean; the stage-coach made its thirty or forty miles a day; the electric wire was not dreamt of; and the letter that traveled but little faster than the stage-coach was the quickest medium of communication.

It required six days' labor at the hands of the machinist, with hammer, chisel, and file, to perfect a certain piece of machinery at the beginning of this century. The machinist of the present day can finish a better job in six hours, with the aid of a labor-saving machine. In a yarn mill in Philadelphia the proprietor says that improved machinery has caused a displacement of fifty per cent. of the former employés within five years, and that one person, with the aid of improved machinery, can perform the work that it took upward of one hundred carders and spinners to do with the tools and implements in use at the beginning of this century. In Massachusetts it has been estimated that 318,768 men, women, and children do, with improved machinery, the work that it would require 1,912,468 men to perform if improved machinery were not in use. To insure safety on a passenger train, it is no longer necessary to have a brakeman at each end of the car; the automatic air-brake does the work, while one brakeman can shout "All right here!" for the whole train. The employé that has had a limb cut off in a collision, must beg for bread or turn the crank of a hand-organ and gather his pennies under the legend, "Please assist a poor soldier who lost his leg at Gettysburg." He is no longer stationed, flag in hand, at the switch; the automatic lever directs the course of the train and renders the one-legged switchman unnecessary. It is said that the iron-molder recently invented is capable of performing as much labor as three skilled workmen; while the following dispatch to a Philadelphia paper, from Mahanoy City, shows what is being done in the mines:

"For the past three years the reduction in wages has been systematic and steady. When one of the officials of one of the great companies was interviewed on the matter, he replied that the advance in labor-saving machinery had lightened the labor of the men. A miner at one of the Reading collieries says that some months ago he expended a large sum for a patent drill, which enabled him to do five times the usual amount of work. He was employed in driving a gangway, the price paid being $10 a yard; but at the end of the week, when the officials saw the amount of work he had done, the rate was reduced to $4.50 a yard."

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Take the iron-molder as an illustration. Three flesh-and-blood men, who require shelter, clothing, recreation, and social intercourse, who must eat or starve, who must pay taxes to support the State, and whose bodies can be taken to defend the State in case of invasion or rebellion; one iron man, who does not feel, sleep, eat, or drink, who never tires and never rests. Three flesh-and-blood men, who have children depending upon them for bread; one iron man, who has no family to support; and the three men whom he has displaced must continue to support families or enlist in that ever-increasing army of tramps. Heat, steam, electricity, labor-saving machines pay no taxes, municipal or national; the men thrown out of employment through the introduction of these agents are deprived of the means of contributing to the support of the State, and an extra burden is shifted to the shoulders of those that continue to work. The existence of such a state of affairs gives evidence that the introduction of machinery, from which the many should derive an advantage, is being used for the benefit of a few, who already feel the blow given to trade through the displacement of so many consumers.

A great many remedies are recommended for the ills that I speak of; let me deal with what seems to be the most unimportant — the reduction of the hours of labor to eight a day. Men, women, and children are working from ten to eighteen hours a day, and two million men have nothing to do. If four men, following a given occupation, at which they work ten hours a day, would rest from their labors two hours each day, the two hours taken from the labor of each, if added together, would give the tramp that stands looking on an opportunity of stepping into a position at eight hours a day. It is said that a vast majority of those who are idle would not work if they had work to do. That statement is untrue; but let us admit that five hundred thousand of the two million idle men would not work, we still have a million and a half who are anxious and willing to work. If but six million of the seventeen million producers will abstain from working ten, fifteen, and eighteen hours a day, and work but eight, the one million and a half of idle men that are willing to work can again take their places in the ranks of the world's producers. Need it be said that a million and a half of new hats will be needed; that a corresponding number of pairs of shoes, suits of clothing, and a hundred other things, will

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be required; that the wants of these men and their families will be supplied; that shelves will be emptied of their goods, and that the money expended will again go into circulation. It would entail hardship on some branches of business to require men employed in them to work eight hours a day. Miners and those working by contract could not very well adopt the eight-hour plan without lengthening their hours of labor. Before giving the matter a second thought, many of these men look upon the eight-hour agitation as of no consequence to them. If a mechanic is thrown out of employment and cannot find anything to do at his trade, he turns toward the first place where an opportunity for work is presented. If he is reënforced by two million idle men, the number that apply at the mouth of the mine, or seek to secure contracts at lower figures, become quite large, and the miner and contract-man grumble because so many men are crowding in upon them in quest of work. Every new applicant for work in the mine makes it possible for the boss to let his contract to a lower bidder; therefore it is clearly to the interest of the miner to assist in reducing the hours of labor in shop, mill, and factory, to the end that the idle millions may be gathered in from the streets to self-sustaining positions.

The eight-hour system, to be of value to the masses, must be put in operation all over the country, for the manufacturers of one State cannot successfully compete with those of other States if they run their establishments but eight hours while others operate theirs ten or twelve hours a day. The movement should be national, and should have the hearty coöperation of all men.

A Scottish clergyman, Dr. Donald Macleod, in a sermon on "The Sin of Cheapness," says that "the craving for cheapness and hunting after bargains is not only economically false, but a cause of great suffering to thousands of men, women, and children." If men worked shorter hours, they would learn that when a man begins to look for cheap bargains he strikes a blow at trade everywhere. The employer looks for a better bargain in labor, and reduces his force or hires cheaper men. His employé must practice enforced economy, which is no saving; he drives sharper bargains for articles manufactured by others; he cannot purchase so good an article, or in such quantities, as before; and the effect is felt where these articles are made, taking the shape of a reduction either in the working force or in the wages. When the President of the United States issued his

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Thanksgiving proclamation in 1884, there were millions of men and women in want of bread, notwithstanding "the abundant harvests and continued prosperity which God hath vouchsafed to this nation," and the cry, not of thanksgiving, went up from millions of farmers of "Too much wheat!" Doubting as to the exact meaning of the Creator in growing so much wheat, they invoked the aid of such institutions as the Chicago Board of Trade, in the hope of thwarting the will of God by cornering wheat. These men invoked blessings on their Thanksgiving dinners, and thanked God for the turkey, while they hoarded the wheat away from those who asked for bread.

Give men shorter hours in which to labor, and you give them more time to study and learn why bread is so scarce while wheat is so plenty. You give them more time in which to learn that millions of acres of American soil are controlled by alien landlords that have no interest in America but to draw a revenue from it. You give them time to learn that America belongs to Americans, native and naturalized, and that the landlord who drives his tenant from the Old World must not be permitted to exact tribute from him when he settles in our country.

T. V. POWDERLY.

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COMMENTS.

MR. EDITOR: The Rev. Dr. Shedd's article on Endless Punishment, in the February number of the REVIEW, is so skillful a bit of dialectics, so accurate and clever in much of its reasoning, and at the same time so full of unconscious self-portraiture, that I can quite understand your determination to risk the publication of such a paper in pages noteworthy otherwise for their catholicity. The reverend gentleman handles his brief well, and if he fails to convince me that everlasting damnation is a cheerful creed, quite reconcilable with human ideas of the goodness of God, it is not from any want of talent as, literally, a devil's advocate. At the same time, I think he has a very bad case — unless, as I suspect, he is a sly humorist, and really means, in his dry way, to express sympathy for the other side. I am reminded of a famous dictum of Frederick the Great, uttered when this very question was fluttering the ecclesiastical dove-cotes. "Let those who believe in eternal damnation," he said, "be eternally damned, as they hope and believe; but, in the mean time, let them leave other more charitable people alone." I quite agree with Dr. Shedd, that God is Eternal Justice; but on what possible ground does our finite reason presume to fathom the ways in which that Eternal Justice is to work? How is the Conditioned to postulate the conduct of the Unconditioned, to show where finite sin ends and infinite retribution begins? It seems to many of us that the great saving strength of Christianity is its power to explain away the very Nemesis that Dr. Shedd vaunts so boldly, to extend indefinitely the area of human efforts toward regeneration, and to show that, however harshly man's judgment may deal with social and moral offenses, the judgment of God is something so very different that it points out avenues of escape to even the worst of sinners. Certain sins, according to Dr. Shedd, must be infinite in their consequences, and one of these is the sin of taking away human life — videlicet, murder. But surely there is here a very manifest contradiction. The sin of murder, from the Christian point of view, is in reality a finite sin; it does not destroy the life eternal, but only shortens the finite life; for, though Abel is slain, the soul of Abel lives imperishable. How, then, exact an eternal penalty from Cain for what was, after all, only a finite offense? Yes, cries Dr. Shedd, but Eternal Justice has to be satisfied! Eternal Justice? Is Dr. Shedd to determine where that begins and ends, or how it works? Why, it is as much as saying that God cannot save Cain, because finite human intelligence weighs and appraises the quality of his justice, or mercy! The reverend doctor argues very cleverly that punishment is retributive, not reforma-

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tory; a point that has previously been taken by Sir James Stephen, in his writings on criminal jurisprudence. Here again, however, the difficulty arises, that judicial punishment, though retributive and absolute in form, is essentially founded on human conceptions of ethics. A judge is, for expedience' sake, the representative of Law Absolute; in reality, however, he is merely the administrator of local ideas of right and wrong. His work begins and ends with the exactment of a certain penalty; he never presumes to follow the criminal *ad infinitum* with the consequences of deeds for which he has legally atoned. Unless Dr. Shedd can show us, what no eye has yet seen and no mind yet conceived, the entire code of a Divine Jurisprudence, and thus convince us that he, a creature, can understand the Law Absolute, he has, in his zeal to damn some of his unfortunate brethren, left himself on the horns of a dilemma. The famous *bon mot*, that God having in the beginning created man in his image, man has ever since been returning the compliment, is sadly illustrated in the case of Dr. Shedd. The God of his imagining is, to my thinking, something monstrous beyond measure, and to talk of eternal mercy in such a connection is, I feel, little short of blasphemy. The wrath of the Lord may be likened to a sword, but never to an instrument of endless torture. But I am quite certain that Dr. Shedd does not realize the full extent of his argument, that he is the victim of his own solitary blunder in logic. He has tried to define the indefinable, to postulate what is inconceivable; and, in so doing, he has invested the Divine Father with the attributes of a human Rhadamanthus. The conception of an All-Powerful and All-Beneficent Being, who bases his Eternal Law on the moral destruction and consequent damnation of any living creature, is out of all harmony with the Christian idea of a Redeemer — one who came not to lead the righteous, but sinners, to repentance. All Dr. Shedd's cleverness will not free him from the folly of having taken a brief for the devil, and thrown discredit on the tenderest and deepest intuitions of human nature.

WALTER S. PALMER.

MR. EDITOR: Mr. Murat Halstead, in the rôle of resurrectionist of sectionalism, is a harmless being, and but for his grim aspect of earnestness would be almost diverting. But a wild-eyed and grimy grave-digger cannot be quite comic. As a "presumptionist," so to speak, Mr. Halstead is really amusing. In the REVIEW for March, he remarks: "It is a safe presumption that the Independent Republican diversion of the campaign closed in November will not be repeated." This is, in fact, a very unsafe presumption for the revivalists of sectionalism. It may be that the Republican party will never again dare to nominate for the highest office in this Republic a man who throughout a long political career has used his influence and the power intrusted to him for the service of the public to make sordid gain for himself; who, though fiery in debate and bold in denial of fact and allegation of falsehood, has been quick enough

> "To crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
> Where thrift may follow fawning";

a man who could be supported by half the press of his party only by a general somersault of able editors. But should it repeat that daring experi-

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ment, there would unquestionably be another diversion, fully as independent and perhaps less diverting for the elastic editors than the last. One other thing would be pretty sure to produce an independent diversion; and that is, the success of those crazy counselors of the Republican party who wish to get it to hold a grand camp-meeting in 1888 for the revival of sectionalism. There is a kind of men whom Mr. Murat Halstead cannot understand, to whom conscience is more than party, and honesty higher than success. They have a normal vision, and cannot be frightened from their equanimity by the "bugs and goblins" conjured up in a brain inflamed with party spirit. It may seem strange to Mr. Murat Halstead that they can "keep the natural ruby" of their cheeks when his are "blanched with fear," but they do not "behold such sights" as shake his disposition. It is the sheet-anchor of our national safety that there are men enough in the country with fidelity to conscience to hold the balance between parties and turn the scale against that which threatens at any moment to sacrifice the public weal for some selfish or corrupt end.

A. K. FISKE.

MR. EDITOR: Mr. Frederic Harrison's comment in the January REVIEW on Froude's revelation of Carlyle is a capital essay. Mr. Harrison's command of language is the despair of literary beginners. From the "well of English undefiled," in which he dips his pen, brilliant words and polished sentences gush up as profusely as the grains of sand in Heber's sunny fountains. One is dazzled by the display, if indeed he be not in danger of being blinded by it. The point of the criticism is this: That Carlyle, by exaggerating the facts, and Froude, by skillfully manipulating the records, have contrived between them to give an utterly false and inartistic view of the great man's life and character. Carlyle was not less happily situated (so Mr. Harrison holds) than a majority of the greatest writers in earlier and later times have been. In bodily state and surroundings, he was fortunate by comparison with many men of genius who have growled and grunted less. But, by an unlucky trick of speech, and the too artful aid of a literary disciple, he succeeded in persuading first himself and then his fellow-mortals that he was, without exception, the unhappiest creature ever born into a miserable world. As the whole trouble lay in his habit of exaggeration, Mr. Harrison naturally exclaims, "Let us not exaggerate." So, having said that Carlyle "lived and worked in poverty, in most honorable poverty," he adds (to avoid the appearance of exaggeration) that he was "surfeited with all that wealth could offer him." Again, having begun his article with an allusion to Carlyle as "the greatest master of English prose within our generation," he hastens to qualify this estimate by the statement that "the finest Carlylese is never equal to fine English." Thus, by exaggerating both ways, he seeks to avoid the error into which Carlyle and his biographer have fallen. Undoubtedly Carlyle did exaggerate, and it is not to be supposed that Mr. Froude attempted to soften the lights and shadows in the autobiographical picture that his master drew. But there can be no doubt—there is none in my mind, at least—that the portrait of Carlyle painted by himself in the volumes Mr. Froude has edited is as true to life as the portraits therein drawn of his contemporaries are false. It is not an attractive likeness; but there are noble features in it, that stand out in high relief from the murky background.

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Mr. Harrison questions that Carlyle had the right "to fling into the street the inner sanctities of his heart," or that it could have been the duty of a friend to abet him in such an undertaking. By such revelations, if not of married misery, yet certainly of something very different from wedded happiness, "a moral wound is inflicted upon the conscience of men." They are not edifying, it is true. But what really wounds the conscience and debases the moral tone of English readers to-day, is not such books as Mr. Froude's Carlyle, which serve a serious if unpleasant purpose; it is the social tittle-tattle, the cheap cynicism, the affectation, vulgarity, and insidious immorality of the so-called society journals. Let Mr. Harrison direct his brilliant rhetoric against this evil, and he will find it impossible to err in the direction of exaggeration.

JOSEPH B. GILDER.

MR. EDITOR: In Mr. Halstead's admirable article in the March number of the REVIEW there is, it seems to me, one important error. He calculates on the return to the Republican ranks, before 1888, of those who acted with the Democrats in the recent Presidential election. But this is not the teaching of experience. Did the Federalists that went over to the Democracy during Madison's Administration ever go back? Did a single one of the Free Soilers that left the Democratic party in 1848, and later, return to it? The Know-nothings were mainly from the Whig or Republican party; but when their organization went to pieces, they mostly (so far as we can trace them) became Democrats. And the war Democrats, who acted with the Republicans during the Rebellion, nearly all continued the alliance after the war was ended. Furthermore, in those historic instances nobody doubted that the seceders gave their true reason. These facts indicate a rule for which there are several explanations. One is to be found in the workings of popular imagination — or the lack of it. Standing long aloof from an organization or a set of men whom he looks upon as opponents, one attributes to them more evil qualities than they possess; and when some truce or other incident has thrown him among them, he awakes to the consciousness that these are men like unto himself, not so very bad after all, and in the delight of the new brotherhood he is liable to forget even the most important differences of faith and principle. Another is, that no man likes to have the reputation of a shuttlecock, and the very fact of having changed sides once becomes a powerful reason for not changing again. Among those Republicans who voted against their party last autumn, there are unquestionably some strong men who will prove superior to such tendencies, and will promptly return to it; but the large majority of them are practically Democrats henceforth. There are two sources from which the Republican party may now look for recruits. The first, of course, is the body of young men that will come of age before the next election. The other is more important. During the twenty-four years of Republican administration, all those honest, unassuming, but not altogether practical men, who look for perfection and can never see anything but defects, who imagine that a change might somehow or other bring in the political millennium, have been acting against the dominant party. They will now have, for the first time in the lives of many of them, an opportunity to see how infinitely worse a Democratic Administration can be, and will go over in a body to the Republicans. I do not say they

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will be numerous enough to carry victory; but that they will have abundant reason for going over, is no flippant assumption. All expectations of reform under the incoming Administration are childish. No reformation ever results from any movement, however honest at the outset, if in its eagerness for the means of success it parallels all the objectionable features of that which it promises to reform. Of course, every good citizen hopes that our new President will rise superior to the power that created him such; and he may do so, if he is braver than the intrepid Pierce, more diplomatic than the veteran diplomatist Buchanan, more of a Christian gentleman than Polk; all of whom were the choice of the South,—solid then as now,—and were by consequence its most obedient servants. ROSSITER JOHNSON.

MR. EDITOR: In the symposium on "How Shall the President be Elected?" all the writers agree that the fathers of the Republic missed their aim in trying to provide that the people should vote for Electors, and that these latter should use their own judgment in voting for President. They ignore the question whether the aim itself was wise, or assume it to have been unwise; and hence they suggest no means by which, if wise, it may now be attained. I hold the aim itself to have been wise, and that, instead of abolishing the Electoral College, it is better to make the slight change necessary to give it its proper working action, viz., to provide that instead of the Presidential Electors meeting at their State capitals, they shall meet in one body, voting still by ballot, at the national capital. This would transfer the responsibility to the Electors personally, and doubtless would subject them to the possibility of bribery. But bribery of a constitutional Elector can be made a crime, while bribery in our existing national conventions cannot be made a crime. Thus, to bring the operation of the Constitution into harmony with its intent, would supersede our State and national conventions so far as they are designed to bear on the choice of President, because all men would know that a National Electoral College meeting in one body would make its own nominations, as the College of Cardinals does in electing a Pope, and as our State legislatures do in electing a United States Senator. The degree in which our State legislatures are boggled and botched as legislatures, and hindered in their proper work, by making them an electoral body, even for choosing a United States Senator, should cure all men of the desire that they choose the Electors or the President, or even that Congress should choose the President. To make a legislature an electoral body, spoils it as a legislature, and does not arrive at a good electoral body. What some of your writers call the "distrust of the people" felt by the fathers was an actual foresight of two facts that all men will acknowledge to be true, viz.: that in a great country no man can be intelligently, personally known except to a few hundred or a few thousand persons. Millions may know his features accurately through portraits, or falsely through cartoons; but they cannot know his qualities. Nor are more than a few thousand persons likely to have a very intelligent judgment as to the fitness of a man for President. For no man who is not himself fit for an office will judge very intelligently whether another is fit for it. The fact that he is not himself fit for it precludes his judging well of another's fitness. Mr. Purcell says that campaign biographies and the newspapers inform every voter fully as to the

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candidate's qualities. Does he call the flingings of the campaign smut-mill a source of information? Mr. Purcell also calls the work of the nominating conventions, from primaries up to nationals, the choice of "the people." Pray when did these self-seeking political brokers and their tools, who alone take part in primaries, become "the people?" Was a man ever known to attend a primary or a convention who did not want an office? And did as many as one-tenth of the people ever take part in these unconstitutional primaries, which assume to make the choice for the whole? As well call the selection of the Divine Ox by the Egyptian priests a choice by the people. The campaign biographies and newspaper adulation are no more instructive to a voter than the floral garlands with which the priests bedeck the ox are useful to enable the boatman on the Nile to judge whether the Sun-God has really descended into the beef. All men that have first known a man's reputation, and then known him personally, know of how little value the opinions of men are concerning a man they do not personally know. Of the ten million votes cast for Blaine or Cleveland, all but those who knew both men personally, and knew the office of President well, were ignorant votes, *pro hac vice*, though cast by men that speak twenty languages. The fathers desired intelligent voting, without letting loose the floods of defamation or of adulation. On their plan, no one need vote for a man he did not know, or for an office concerning whose duties he could form no correct judgment. Voters would know the Elector in their own Congressional district; and the Electors, three or four hundred in number, would all know, without glamor or mask, the men for whom they voted. A National Electoral College would, if it met in one body, decide upon the election and qualifications of its members, and thus fill up every hiatus in the existing system that Mr. Dawes points out.

VAN BUREN DENSLOW.

MR. EDITOR: I congratulate you on your symposium on that barren fig-tree in our national vineyard, the Electoral College. But how many words are wasted by your able writers before they can tell you what they think! If the Electoral College is needless, then it is a nuisance, and therefore it ought to be abated. Our history demonstrates that political corruption exists in exactly inverse proportion to the extent of the constituency; that it is easier to bribe or overawe or overreach any one class than all classes; that the only effective policy to secure pure government is to make all the great offices elective by a secret vote of all the people; and that the old notion of the Federalists that we should seek to "clarify the popular will by successive filtrations," was false in theory and has been pernicious in practice. Plans to secure a true record of the popular vote deserve the study of every enlightened patriot. Whether complex or simple, all political machinery has two aims only: to get twelve honest men into the jury-box, and to get an honest count of the votes in the ballot-box. Chicago has just devised a plan that would seem to render election frauds impossible in communities that can defend their rights. It was the result of a conference between the Iroquois Club (a Democratic organization) and the Union League Club (a Republican organization) on the last day of last year. It provides for the selection or election of responsible and trustworthy judges and clerks, of both parties, or of all parties, when there are more than two contestants.

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These officers shall be compelled by law to serve at the polling-places. No election precinct shall have more than three hundred voters, so that every voter may be known and his right to vote be investigated. No citizen shall be allowed to vote unless he shall have registered, and a legal investigation must precede registration. This inquest shall be made by the clerks officially, accompanied by authorized representatives of the political parties. To insure faithful service by intelligent men, all elective officers are to be regarded as officers of the county courts, and subject thereby to legal punishment for contempt of court in case of dereliction of duty. The scheme of law provides, furthermore, that returns in triplicate and tallies in duplicate shall be made, officially, to all the officers of election, and that the polls shall be promptly closed at four o'clock in the afternoon, so as to insure the publication of the result at an early hour. Other practical provisions are made to secure purity and fidelity. The plan has been elaborated into a bill covering fifty-five solid pages, and a joint committee has been appointed to revise and perfect it, and to urge its enactment by the Legislature. This is genuine political reform, and it should be reproduced and championed in other States. For, with an honest count, and not otherwise, every wise reform can be speedily accomplished.

JAMES REDPATH.

MR. EDITOR: I wish, as an illiterate man of letters, to express the sense of satisfaction that I owe to Prof. Max Müller for his admirable paper on "Buddhist Charity," in the March number of the REVIEW. In common with many unscholarly writers, I have long been familiar with the publications of this accomplished Orientalist, whom we all know through the lyrics of his poet-father, one of the latest of the master-singers, and I desire to thank him for the flotsam and jetsam that he has cast up along our bleak New England shores, treasuretrove from the peaks of the Himalayas, the Sacred River, and the many-islanded Ho-ang-ho. The work that he has been instrumental in accomplishing, through his translations from the Sanskrit and other old-world languages, is not to be measured by the younger generation of Puritans. I am old enough to remember the day when it was proclaimed of a noted infidel, Abner Kneeland, that his tongue ought to be torn out by the roots. This was in Boston, early in the third decade of this Christian century. The charity of Boston was not the charity of Buddhism in the days of King Asoka, of Judaism in the days of Jesus of Nazareth, of Christianity in the days of St. Martin of Tours, or in the days of that holy woman, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, whose life and suffering was the noblest inspiration of the Rector of Eversley in his young manhood. It was not, and is not, the boundless charity of the World's Poet, who discovered the soul of goodness in things evil, and observingly distilled it out. It is not even the charity of Burns and Byron, reprobates both; still less is it the charity of Hawthorne and Mrs. Stowe. I am in a hot-bed of revivalism at this present writing, and the shadows of Moody and Sankey darken the pages on which I scrawl these words. It was only last night that three children — for they were little more — entered this chamber, and said that an orphan girl, not seventeen, was walking up and down the windy, frosty road, out of her mind, with a Bible in her hand, crazed with religion. I have not heard what became of her, but I suppose she spent the night in that *maison de santé*, the

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poor-house. Better than alms like this, the moldy scraps in "The Three Baskets." Better still the charity of St. Paul, if it was St. Paul who wrote, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

R. H. STODDARD.

MR. EDITOR: Mr. Halstead, in the March number of the REVIEW, delivered a rattling fusillade all along the political lines. It contained, however, more noise and smoke than lead; for, whatever else we may say, one cannot consider the article heavy. His thesis, "The Revival of Sectionalism," aimed to prove the identity of Republican defeat with the rehabilitation of a narrow, local, and selfish policy; that Democratic victory means national disaster, etc. We all know the familiar wail of the vanquished politician, "My party is beaten, and the country will go to the dogs." We cannot congratulate the author on the novelty of his war-cry. Disrobed of its brilliant paradoxes and stripped to the skin, the plea becomes substantially this: The late slave-holding States sought unsuccessfully to shatter the Union; they were treated with unparalleled generosity because no one was hanged, drawn, and quartered; their full constitutional rights were restored after a period of probation, with additional representation, answering to the increased vote gained by the suffrage of the colored race; ergo, the Democratic party, which represents the most intelligent and competent classes of the South, was guilty of a monstrous crime, because, in carrying these States, it carried such increased representation as to put the power of the Government in its hands, when it secured the Presidential victory. This is the most curious *non sequitur* in the history of logic. The activity of party life is the very root of healthy government. A party that does not fight to win shows that feebleness of conviction which deserves defeat. Yet, as hard as the Democratic party fought for success, it achieved victory not so much by its own strength as by the weakness of its opponent. After twenty-four years of triumph, a great party had gradually succumbed to a dry rot. Many of its enthusiastic adherents had, from time to time, left its ranks, and at last a sufficient body had gone over to the enemy to carry the weight of victory with them. These seceders represented the best element of Republicanism, *i. e.*, that least tainted with jobbery and political corruption. Yet Mr. Halstead, who, like Danton, believes thoroughly in audacity, cries aloud in trumpet tones that the clock of time has been set back, and pours forth a series of woful jeremiads. Let the dashing Cincinnati editor cheer up. He may still have another chance for a somersault, and four years hence may be applying the lash, as he did once before, to the very men whom he now applauds to the echo.

G. T. FERRIS.

MR. EDITOR: The article on Titles, contributed to the REVIEW by President Gilman, is very suggestive. In fact, I am inclined to think it is too suggestive, since it suggests the question, Why not abolish all titles? President Gilman wants a reformation in the bestowal of academic titles, so that they shall mean something and be given only to those who deserve them. If we are to be thus exacting with the scholars, why not be equally

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strict with the politicians? If a man has once held a seat in Congress, he forever wears the prefix "Hon." But to give this any real value, there should be discrimination. We should know whether he was elected unanimously, or by the skin of his teeth; whether he was reëlected, or was told at the end of one term that his constituents had had enough of him; whether indeed he was elected at all, or was a contestant voted into a seat because his party in the House needed him. If we could have an impartial committee to give every Congressman a diploma certifying as to these facts, his "Hon." might be good for something. I think the fallacy in Dr. Gilman's discussion of academic titles lies in the assumption that it is possible to label men like merchandise. Being president of a university, he should know, as every graduate knows, that a dozen or twenty boys may be put through the same course of study, recite equally well, and receive the same marks, so that any faculty would be compelled to give them all the same diploma; yet their capacities for assimilating what they have learned, for growing by what they feed on, will be widely various. If a young man is to become a teacher, a certificate that he has passed honorably through certain courses of study has its value; but in any other calling, even under the best circumstances, it signifies exceedingly little. Only so much of his learning avails him as shows itself in the man, without unrolling the parchment. The person that writes A. B. or A. M. after his own name, is generally under the necessity of thus telling us what we should not otherwise have suspected.

LOUIS LEEMAN.

MR. EDITOR: I have read with interest Prof. Davis's able paper on the "Moral Aspects of Vivisection"; but the whole subject that he discusses is, I think, far broader than any question of ordinary morality. It concerns, indeed, the whole theory of the moral government of the universe, and whether on the theological or the utilitarian side, it can be settled by an appeal to the evidence of Nature. If, as I believe, it can be shown that the scheme of Nature is one totally indifferent to mere pain,—in other words, that torture for beneficent ends is resorted to at any and every stage of natural development,—it is surely clear that the advocates of vivisection need no apology. All life, indeed, is based upon the law of suffering. The dream of Science is to reduce that suffering to a minimum, and no one whose knowledge is adequate can doubt that men of science have achieved more good in this direction during the past two decades than sentimentalists have been able to do in a thousand years.

J. L. SMITH.

MR. EDITOR: I have read with no little interest the article on Endless Punishment, contributed by the Rev. Dr. Shedd to the February number of the REVIEW, and think it will do much good, by showing that there are some few philosophic spirits who still uphold, in these backsliding days, the central dogmas of the church, rooted in inspiration and founded in reason. Particularly interesting to me is his vindication of the Eternal Justice, which metes out punishment in that mathematical measure, apart from all considerations of human sentiment. Modern science, with all its perversions and

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blasphemies, has done this great service to mankind: it has shown the Eternal Justice under the other form and name of righteous Law, exacting inexorably from every man and thing the penalty of wrong-doing, even to the utmost generation. No truth can be more evident to every thinking man than the truth of retribution, permanent in the physical and the moral world, and practically eternal, since no atonement, short of the highest, can divert it from its object; and there are sins — murder, for example, or the shedding of blood — which even he cannot pardon, and the punishment of which, therefore, must be everlasting. True to the last syllable is the statement that "suffering that is penal can never come to an end, because guilt is the reason for its infliction, and guilt once incurred never ceases to be." If the converse of this were true,— *i. e.*, that guilt is merely infirmity, and that punishment is merely educational,— the whole government of the moral universe would be indictable, wrong would in the long run be every whit as profitable as right (which, indeed, many transcendentalists would like to make us believe), and there would be no such thing as justice in the world. Fortunately, the Christian religion, while teaching the forgiveness of certain offenses, establishes the hopelessness and misery of sin that is absolute, of corruption that is irremediable. God is good because he is just, not because he is forgiving; forgiveness being only tenable when forgiveness is just. To say that God pardons sin, and absolves it of its penalty, is to say that God fails to distinguish between good and evil — a hideous supposition. The divine law is fixed and adamantine; an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, saith the Lord. Living in a remote part of the country, and seeing little of the world, I have to gather much of my worldly knowledge from newspapers; but what I read only corroborates my own small experience, that the world is full of sins that only Eternal Justice could adequately punish, sins not of ignorance and inexperience, but against the voice of conscience and the written and unwritten law. Such a sin, I conceive, is that conspiracy against social order which willfully destroys innocent lives by means of devilish modern inventions, such as dynamite. Surely no plea of justification could absolve the dynamiter from the eternal consequences of his own infernal deeds. But it is not for weak man to determine what sins are hopeless and utterly remote from the sweet rays of the divine mercy; yet Dr. Shedd has shown that the whole scheme of Providence is inseparable from a philosophy that may be summed up in the words of Robert Browning:

> "Infinite Mercy, but, I wis,
> As Infinite a Justice too!"

MARK ANDERSON.

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